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Contents :

PETER EVANS - Seventeenth-Century Chamber Music Manuscripts
at Durham - 205

GERHARD WILLNER - Richard Capell in Egypt - 224

PHILIP T. BARFORD - Mind, Hands and Keyboard - 226

FREDERICK HUDSON AND ALFRED DÜRR - An Investigation into
the Authenticity of Bach's 'Kleine Magnificat' - 233

GRANGE WOOLLEY - Pablo de Sarasate: his Historical
Significance - 237

HANS F. REDLICH - Bruckner and Brahms Quintets in F - 253

VICTOR BENNETT - The Recognition of the Sublime - 259

DOREL HANDMAN - Two New French Operas - 266

REVIEWS OF BOOKS - 269

REVIEWS OF MUSIC - 293

CORRESPONDENCE - 310

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SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHAMBER MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS AT DURHAM

By PETER EVANS

THE Durham Cathedral Library has been known to scholars for many years for its wealth of church music manuscripts, and the monumental edition of 'Tudor Church Music' which we now know would have been much poorer without the Durham sources. But another collection of Durham manuscripts¹, of seventeenth-century chamber and solo viol music, has received far less notice, although some details of its contents were published by E. H. Meyer as early as 1934.² In his later book, 'English Chamber Music'³, Dr. Meyer refers to some of the manuscripts and gives several quotations from them, but they are incidental to his main subject, which is the true fantasy. This type is not represented in the Durham collection in a pure form, but there are numerous hybrids in which its procedures are applied to the more brilliant manner of string writing, with continuo support, which was to culminate in the adoption of the Italian trio-sonata. The importance of these manuscripts lies therefore in the light they shed on the mid-seventeenth century in English and in German chamber music, when the figured bass was at last accepted, the violin displaced the treble viol and the fancy and canzona gave way to the sonata. None of our historians is altogether explicit about the matter and few appear to have made the attempt to fill the gaps in their chronicle by studying transitional works such as those at Durham.

Excluding one volume of bass viol solos⁴ which is made up of

¹ MSS Mus. A27, D2, D4, D5 and D10, the first and last of which are in score, the remainder in part-books.

² E. H. Meyer, 'Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa' (Bärenreiter, Cassel, 1934).

³ Lawrence & Wishart, 1946.

⁴ MS Mus. A27.

transcripts from printed collections in the library (notably of Marais, Hacquart, Schenk and Snep) there are 91 works in these manuscripts, though duplication of a few obvious favourites reduces the true total to a round 80. Of these 15 are divisions for solo viola da gamba⁵ and continuo, 17 are short ayres or dance movements for one or two viole da gamba and continuo, 16 are extended "sonatas" or "fantasies" (the titles are used without differentiation) for two gambas and continuo or three gambas, 22 are "sonatas" or shorter works for violin, viola da gamba and continuo, 9 are sonatas or divisions for two violins and continuo, and there is a single sonata for solo violin and continuo. Almost half the collection is anonymous, and the named works are, with one exception, either English or German: the most familiar names are those of Jenkins, William Young, Henry Butler, Schmelzer and Becker, with the Italian Zamponi being represented by three copies of the same sonata.

The solo divisions and the short gamba pieces call for little comment; their like can be found in many other manuscripts elsewhere. They furnish evidence of the virtuosity attained by the seventeenth-century violist, but the empty elaboration of stereotyped musical scraps which is to be seen in the workings of grounds does not hold our interest. The enigmatic figure of Henry Butler is well to the fore in this industriously worked but rather barren field with eleven sets of divisions, but similar works by "Daniel Norcum" and "Maarit Webster", which can be dated with more precision⁶, do not demonstrate any notable difference in treatment, so that the solo divisions may fairly be regarded as the oldest works in the collection. The cult of the bass viola da gamba as a solo instrument outside the consort has been made clear by Meyer⁷, and it is certain that Christopher Simpson's manual 'The Division Viol' represented, on its appearance in 1659, no more than a codification of practices understood in England since the early years of the century.⁸ Manuscripts of viol divisions begin with a simple statement of the ground followed by increasingly complex variants. These variants, whether breaking the ground or descanting upon it, could make their point only if another viol sustained the ground and a chordal instrument

⁵ Since none of these works uses viols other than the bass viola da gamba, all references will be to that instrument.

⁶ Maurice Webster was attached to "the Chamber of our late Sovereign Lord King James" at the time of the royal funeral in 1625. He died presumably towards the end of 1635, as Dietrich Steffkyn (Diedrich Steffkins in Grove, 5th ed.), who is also represented in the Durham MSS by a set of divisions, was appointed "in place of the deceased" in January 1636. Daniel Norcome contributed to 'The Triumphs of Oriana'; Scholes suggests pre-1626 for his death, Meyer gives 1647. According to Grove V he was still alive in the latter year.

⁷ "English Chamber Music", p. 136 ff.

⁸ And of *principles* understood by the Spaniard Diego Ortiz a hundred years before.

completed the texture. Indeed it is known that this was the accepted manner of performance, so that we must recognize the existence of an early seventeenth-century English continuo convention practised by the organ or harpsichord players who extemporaneously harmonized the grounds.

The other manuscripts in the Durham collection show an application of this continuo-founded art to bigger groupings than the solo divisions. In the first place, logically enough, it is applied to brilliant duets for two gambas, which often still retain division structure. Then, by the recognition of the violin as a treble instrument capable of virtuosity akin to the gamba's, a much wider field is explored in the music for violin, gamba and continuo. This is a true chamber combination, capable of musical expression more vital than any we can find in the monotonously energetic gamba divisions. Though we shall return to the point, it may here be mentioned that it is also a combination which demands a treatment entirely distinct from that of the Italian trio-sonata, with its two predominating treble instruments.

There are few anonymous works among the extended gamba duet pieces, and so it is easy to distinguish the English and German types. We shall discuss the English examples first, since they show the most direct application of the division principle. Despite such titles as "Fantasia" and "Sonata" many of them are in fact divisions on extended basses, though none uses the brief formulae we tend to associate with the term "ground". In this connection it should be recalled that both Ortiz and Simpson recognized a method of making divisions on an extended piece—"a continued ground . . . the thorough-bass of some motett or madrigal".⁹ In the Durham pieces the bass "themes" are obviously composed rather than borrowed for the purpose, and they reveal a uniformity in examples by different composers which makes evident the popularity of the form. The "themes" are all in two sections, of more or less equal length (e.g. 17 and 18 bars in an example by Young). They are first stated with simple contrapuntal upper parts¹⁰ and then each section is twice varied with increasing elaboration. This pattern—AB AA BB—is sometimes shortened to AA BB, of which the first A and B use the simple texture. The most usual key scheme for this binary pattern retains the tonic for the mid-cadence and then sets out from dominant or relative major back to the tonic. Closer to the eighteenth-century principle is the theme of an *Aria*

⁹ Christopher Simpson, 'The Division Viol'.

¹⁰ The term is used in a purely comparative sense to indicate the two solo gamba parts. As we shall see, they are frequently at the same pitch as the continuo bass.

with divisions by Jenkins for violin and gamba which Meyer quoted in 'English Chamber Music', p. 223; but its balanced phrases and symmetrical cadence scheme (tonic-dominant, dominant-tonic) are altogether exceptional. I quote a more typical Jenkins' extract from his "Fantasia" MS Mus.D4, No. 3, first in its initial form, in which signs of lingering affection for the true fancy can be seen in the polyphonic weavings:

In a later elaboration of the same passage the gamba parts remain imitative, but in a manner which has become perfunctory, owing both to the demands of virtuosic display and to the slow harmonic movement dictated by the bass:

In some examples the variations do not merely rhapsodize within the confines of the harmonic scheme but incorporate melodic features from the original form, usually in diminution. Apart from a few exceptions of this kind, the variation technique is purely harmonic, often no more than a simultaneous use of the two types of division—"breaking" and "descanting". It is this mixture which produces the ceaselessly active parts characteristic of these works; the two viols complement each other in a rapid alternation between bass decoration and a descant line, so that the texture remains constant but each viol part assumes an appearance of bewildering

complexity. In the Poul "Fantasia" (D4, No. 5), for example, a typical passage can be analysed as shown:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} B = \text{Bass (divided).} \\ D = \text{Descant.} \end{array} \right.$

In the more complex examples the gambas often exchange their function several times within a bar. For a quotation from a final variation, in which the amazing technical equipment of the two gambas is exploited, the reader is referred to Meyer's 'English Chamber Music', p. 222. The author, however, does not explain the division structure of the work. He discusses at some length what he calls the "concertante-ornamental" style typified by his quotation (from MS Mus.D5 No. 10, by Jenkins); yet, beyond citing some precedents, he does nothing to clarify its origin. In fact the style, as seen in the Durham manuscripts, is obviously derived from solo division viol technique, even in examples which are not based on grounds.

The free gamba duets by English composers still employ breaking and descanting figurations, but the repeating structure of the division is replaced by a formal method which, in its development of successive points, is taken from the string fantasia. Though the latter title is given to them they have little of the character of the finest works in that form. By the nature of their origin the gamba parts are concerned mainly with display, and the continuo bass line, essential to any texture constructed by "division", destroys the possibility of instrumental equality. The bass takes no part in the

imitation and the counterpoint of the solo gambas is often mere decorated harmony with perpetual motion sustained by frequent use of arpeggios. Thus the underlying continuo is at once the servant and the master of this music; it maintains an apparent subservience to the solo parts, yet by dictating their harmonic scope prevents their development of a vitally contrapuntal texture.

For the reasons outlined above I would suggest that, so far as the Durham manuscripts are concerned, Meyer is misguided in his conception of the English attitude to the continuo.¹¹ He reasons that the polyphonic texture was the initial consideration and the continuo part was no more than an extraction of the "general" (or common) bass. But in all the division "fantasies" and the greater part of the free movements by Jenkins (particularly singled out by Meyer) the effect of the bass is to lay a Procrustean hand on the polyphony. Meyer says that "der Generalbass dient nicht als Träger des harmonischen Geschehens oder als harmonische Kulisse", yet the most perfunctory inspection suggests that almost every English work in this collection contradicts him; it is scarcely to be believed that composers could write such dull counterpoint were they not continually curbed by the predetermined harmonic pattern. Meyer goes on: "Der Zugang zur eigentlichen 'Vertikal-harmonik' des italienischen und deutschen Barock fehlt ihnen [den Engländern]; die echte, alte Polyphonie konnte nicht abgestreift werden"; but it is the conception of vertical harmony governed by the bass which banishes from these works any sign of the genuine old polyphony. Of course, in the true fantasias (not to be found in these manuscripts) the polyphony was the genesis of the harmony, and a continuo part, if written, would take the form described by Meyer. Yet he not only fails to describe the type preserved at Durham, which constitutes an exception to his remarks, but includes the works in his inventory (in 'Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik') with the utterly untenable claim "B.C. *ad lib.*" Indeed, he refers to the Young fantasias as "for 3 bass viols", though the third part is clearly for continuo and its performance on a third gamba without chordal support would not constitute a satisfactory completion of the texture. While I remain, in company with most students of the period, greatly indebted to Meyer for his brilliant survey of English chamber music, I think it should be pointed out that the inventory contained in his earlier work is inaccurate in nearly all its references to the Durham manuscripts.¹²

¹¹ 'Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik', pp. 35-36.

¹² It was almost certainly compiled by correspondence, as in numerous cases the descriptions and titles of the MSS have been accepted even where musical evidence contradicts them.

There are only five German works for two (or three) gambas in the collection, and three of these are by Johann Michael Nicolay.¹³ An anonymous "sonata" preceding his works in MS Mus.D10 has enough stylistic features in common to justify its attribution to him.¹⁴ Although described as "sonatas", these works are typical of the seventeenth-century German ensemble suite. Their opening movements are composite structures with an obvious debt to the *canzona*: a homophonic *adagio* is followed by a fugal *allegro*, and thereafter slow and quick sections alternate—in at least one example the arrangement of sections is suggestive of the *sonata da chiesa* (though to be played without a break). The remaining movements are in frank binary dance forms, often treated with delicacy and unostentatious contrapuntal resource. In two of the "sonatas" the weighty first movement is balanced by a concluding *ciaccona* of comparable length. Thus almost all the forms known to middle baroque chamber music appear in these works, and their handling is always assured and utterly convincing in performance. Indeed, these Nicolay works might well be revived, either in a transcribed form or on the original instruments. They are described variously as "for 3 viols da gamba" and "for 2 viols da gamba and B.C.". Unlike the English gamba works, in which the solo parts constantly cross as they "descant" and "break", the German sonatas show a stratified distribution of the parts: throughout a work each instrument maintains its original position in the texture. In some cases alto, tenor and bass clefs are used for the three parts, and this gives a very accurate impression of their relationship. The bass line takes a full part in imitation and in no way resembles the continuo line of the English duets. Indeed, in the closely woven texture of many movements we might feel the intrusion of a chordal accompaniment unwarranted. Nevertheless, whether or not their titles include the continuo, a few figures appear in slow sections, and occasionally one viol plays solo above a static bass. Furthermore, notes appear in the bass part below the gamba's lowest D, making performance on three equal instruments impossible. References to theorbo and organ on one of the bass staves prompt the conjecture that the part would be played in all the sonatas by a third gamba supplemented by those two continuo instruments.

The statistics given earlier in this article show that the largest group of works in the Durham manuscripts is of sonatas for violin,

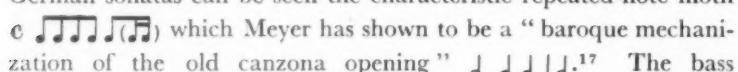
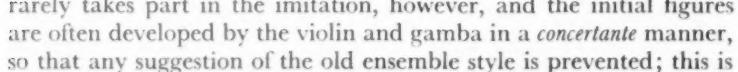
¹³ Meyer mentions works by Nicolay published in 1675-82. He is clearly one of the latest composers represented in the Durham MSS.

¹⁴ Both this anonymous sonata and the second of Nicolay's sonatas are also in B.M., Add.31430, attributed to Jenkins; they have no stylistic features in common with his work.

gamba and continuo, a grouping rarely discussed in writings on baroque chamber music. Miss Ruth Halle Rowen in her study of 'Early Chamber Music'¹⁵ describes the type, which she views as a German modification of the Italian trio-sonata. Though this ignores its prompt adoption by certain English composers, we can accept the German origin of the type; but we may possibly question its derivation from Italian models. As we have seen, manuscripts at Durham alone show how ingrained was the German and English love of brilliant gamba music, in the one country in canzona-cum-suite, in the other in division-cum-fantasy: the bass-viol technique had been developed by this art to a pitch unparalleled by any contemporary instrument. When the newfangled violin penetrated to these countries its acceptance was at first rather reluctant, particularly on the part of the enthusiasts for true ensemble music, the canzona and the fancy. But the bright-toned incisive violin, though it could only destroy the nice balance of that music, could be perfectly accommodated into the style of chamber music which exploited the bass viol as a solo instrument and, indeed, would be welcomed as providing a better foil for display than could a second gamba. The 2-gamba pieces of this collection suffer from the monotony inevitable in music where both soloists play similar material at the same pitch, particularly as that pitch is low (the problem is far less acute in the orthodox trio-sonata). By using the violin as a second solo instrument the composer could achieve a far clearer texture, through which the brilliance of the single viol part could more easily penetrate, and at the same time match that brilliance at a higher level in a manner quite outside the scope of the reticent treble viol. I would suggest that the origin of the violin and gamba sonata lay much more in this absorption of the new instrument into an existing practice than in the retrogressive adaptation of the Italian trio-sonata which it is held to represent by Miss Rowen.

Some account should now be given of typical structures and textures in the Durham violin and gamba sonatas. Opening movements require little comment: they have a short homophonic *adagio* (usually with thick gamba chords) succeeded by a quick imitative section, or they may begin with the imitative movement, in which case it is made suitably weighty, both by its length and by adherence to the initial subject throughout. Similarity to contemporary Italian sonatas rarely extends beyond a common debt to the canzona. Almost the only extended opening *adagio* (comparable with the

¹⁵ King's Crown Press (U.S.A.), p. 84.

Italian "prelude") is in Zamponi's sonata¹⁶; this is of a far more expressive character than the functional *adagio* movements of the German examples. A still finer slow movement opens the anonymous D₂, No. 27 Sonata, making impressive use of a long pedal and closing in an impassioned outburst which bespeaks Italian influence, if not authorship. In the imitative *allegro* which opens many of the German sonatas can be seen the characteristic repeated-note motif  which Meyer has shown to be a "baroque mechanization of the old canzona opening" .¹⁷ The bass rarely takes part in the imitation, however, and the initial figures are often developed by the violin and gamba in a *concertante* manner, so that any suggestion of the old ensemble style is prevented; this is music for two soloists with accompaniment, and the imitation is incidental. Indeed, whereas the beauty of the old style lay in the harmonic results obtained from the interweaving of imitative parts, here the leading instrument is very often silent while the second instrument copies its phrase. The following example from the Young Sonata D₂, No. 23 shows clearly the intrusion of the solo violart into an originally polyphonic form; once the "exposition" is complete the gamba launches into a wholly irrelevant extension of the subject:



Ironically enough, the movement is headed "Canzon".

A much more consistent application of this *concertante* manner is to be found in the intermediate quick movements of these sonatas; it appears no longer as a foreign element intruding upon older structures, but evolves an individual form peculiarly suited to the display of the solo instruments. These movements are all in either 4-4 or 3-2 time, but it is impossible to relate them convincingly to dance forms, as the style of writing is far too rhapsodic to be comfortably assimilated into an inflexible metrical scheme. The 4-4 movements invariably begin with successive solos, based on the same material, violin and gamba (or *vice versa*) accompanied by the continuo. In

¹⁶ The explanation for a work in this northern medium by the Italian Zamponi seems to lie in his being domiciled in Belgium. Manfred Bukofzer, 'Music in the Baroque Era', p. 136.

¹⁷ 'Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik', p. 106.

one Sonata, by Claussen¹⁸, these are so long that nothing further is required and the movement ends without a single bar in which both instruments play. More often these opening paragraphs are followed by discussion of the expounded material between the two soloists. The opening solos are deliberately designed with this final section in mind. Almost all of them have two clearly differentiated features, the first with a striking melodic shape in quavers or longer notes, the second a "busy" figure in semi- or demisemiquavers constructed mechanically and destined to be used so in the final "development". I quote such a solo theme from an anonymous sonata:



The technique of development applied to these sequential tags (marked B in the quoted theme) may well seem primitive: they are tossed about between the instruments, played in thirds and then further broken down into smaller units. Numerous movements open with striking solo paragraphs, only to descend to merely industrious activity; the disintegration complete, they end with no attempt at a restatement of the full paragraph. Despite this weakness, the structure is often effectively managed as a vehicle for instrumental brilliance. It could obviously have no place in the Italian trio group, as successive solos at the same pitch and in the same tone-colour would substitute monotony for the piquant contrasts of the German trio.

The *concertante* movements in 3-2 time do not use this bisectional thematic technique: instead they use a bithematic technique. The most common procedure is for the violin to state the first theme and the gamba to follow with the second, after which they change functions, and the two themes are stated simultaneously. In some cases this constitutes the entire material of the movement: no attempt is made to extend, transform or even disintegrate the themes. They appear repeatedly with an apparent delight in their rudimentary double counterpoint which we can hardly share. The fine anonymous German Sonata D₅, No. 5 has an ostensibly similar movement, but it is rescued from this monotony by the insertion of episodes in which one of the themes is genuinely developed; it is also enlivened by some pointed cross-rhythms and shows a sensitive balance of keys unusual in these manuscripts.

Intermediate slow movements are either homophonic and very

¹⁸ MS Mus.D₅, No. 2.

short, serving merely as a transition between two main movements, or they are extended and use the method of successive solos noted above. Zamponi's Sonata adopts this German scheme in its third movement, but its melodic line avoids the formulae which beset most examples, and interest is added to the solo paragraphs by the use of imitation in the continuo bass. A movement without parallel is the short slow section of Henry Butler's violin and gamba Sonata D₂, No. 20 (which in other respects has much in common with the methods of the German composers). Its solo passages are in recitative style, more remarkable in appearance owing to the writing out in full of the ornaments:



The solos are identical except in pitch. As the violin has moved from tonic to dominant, this means that the gamba moves to the supertonic, and the tonal structure of the whole movement is managed in this way. The violin re-enters and proceeds from the supertonic A to E, the gamba repeats, reaching B, and then the machinery is suddenly put into reverse so that the subdominant C is quickly arrived at, to cancel the effect of the distant excursion and to reaffirm the tonic.

Final movements do not reveal any common principle, except in the striving, by a variety of means, after a cumulative effect in the closing bars. Very rarely is an attempt made to secure this by the length of the finale; often it is shorter than the intermediate sections, and it never rivals the first movement. Pedals, augmentation and diminution are the most common rhetorical devices, and Zamponi again shows more subtlety than his models in his climax, achieved by progressive augmentation spread over many bars: a scale figure delivered originally in sixteenth notes is finally transformed to ponderous crotchets. The finale of the Becker Sonata D₂, No. 25 is a two-part fugue with an independent continuo bass. The subject is remarkably suggestive of the early eighteenth century.¹⁹



It undergoes the process of disintegration characteristic of these sonatas, but the passages which employ this serve merely as episodes

¹⁸ Becker died in 1679.

between complete statements of the subject. Various degrees of *stretto* are used, and the bass is brought into the imitation. Thus the interest is sustained through some 35 bars, until a final appearance of the subject provides an epigrammatic ending. It is disappointing to find that Becker considered it necessary to add a platitudinous homophonic *adagio* in order to secure a weighty conclusion for this Sonata.

The art represented in these violin and gamba manuscripts can be seen, even from this brief survey of structural methods, to be no feeble imitation of the Italian sonata style, but a sturdily independent growth. Its origin in the viol music of Germany and England can be inferred by comparison of the sonatas with violin with those for gambas alone and with the English gamba-duet divisions. The *concertante* movements discussed above have no parallel in Italian sonatas, but identical forms are evident in the Sonata for 2 gambas and continuo by G. Schuts, D₄, No. 9, unfortunately the only German work for the combination apart from the suites by Nicolaï. The frequency with which the gamba has the first solo passage also indicates that the characteristic figures were governed by its technique rather than the violin's: the gamba solos often exceed those for the violin both in length and in virtuosity. When the medium was transported to England, almost certainly by William Young (though it is not possible to substantiate this until more is known of Butler), the effect of the violin on the old gamba style was very slight. It caused the gamba to abandon the greater part of its bass functions and to exploit its former "descanting" register, now of course the middle of the texture. The technique of "breaking the bass" died hard, however, and even Young betrays his nationality by retaining it in his gamba parts, incorporating it on occasion in the violin part as well:



Jenkins's debt to the old divisions style is equally clear in his violin and gamba sonatas, D₅, No. 6, D₂, Nos. 17 and 18²⁰, though they

²⁰ D₂ Nos. 17 and 18 are anonymous, but are attributed to Jenkins in British Museum Add. 31423.

derive formally from the fantasy. Both Young and Butler make great use of the gamba's potentialities as a chordal instrument²¹, often producing a thick texture in which the gap between bass and violin is almost completely bridged. The German composers are so preoccupied with brilliant *concertante* figurations that they less often relegate the gamba to this humble part.

Idiomatic violin writing became prominent in the typical Italian sonata at a very early stage in its development. With the usual time-lag, some of this was accepted by the German and English composers who were writing their own type of trio-sonata. But their violin writing was affected considerably by the gamba, which, being first in the field, tended to impose on the new instrument its methods and figurations, particularly in movements where both were used imitatively or played the same material in successive solos. Violin figuration is almost invariably an adaptation of common viol patterns, as used in such virtuoso works as the division fantasies. In particular the sudden breaking into demi-semiquaver runs (obviously to be slurred) after uninterrupted semiquavers (with separate bows) is an effect which had been fully exploited by the gamba composers before they admitted the violin. A history of musical figuration has yet to be written, but it may safely be assumed that the art of the viola da gamba will figure largely in its pages.

The estrangement of this musical practice from Italian developments accounts also for the very sparing use of the violin in a *cantabile* manner. The slow movements of many Italian sonatas of the middle baroque show a sensuously melodic violin line comparable only to the contemporary operatic development of the *bel canto* style. This can be found at Durham in only a few orthodox two-violin (*i.e.* Italian-influenced) sonatas and in the single solo violin sonata, which, from its appearance on the manuscript flyleaf, can be assumed to be later than the rest of the collection. The main concern of the violin part in the German-type sonatas, sometimes even in the improvisatory sections, is for pattern, and this is sometimes so rigidly adhered to as to stifle altogether the instrument's expressive potentialities; the mechanization of the material deprives the violin of the singing quality in which it so surpasses the gamba. Only Zamponi writes a violin part which calls for sustained *cantabile* tone—and this is no concession to the instrument, for his gamba part repeats the same material. A further sign of the viol's influence on

²¹ See *e.g.* the *adagio* movements in my edition of Young's D major Sonata (Durham MSS Mus. D2, No. 29), to be published by Schott.

violin writing is to be detected in the frequent wide intervals, often in very quick movements, which require the crossing of an intermediate string—a technical feat at which the gamba excels the violin. As a result of the mechanical transference of material the violin is sometimes compelled to emulate the viol in such passages; in the Jenkins' example quoted it is indeed "breaking the bass":



The bass line of these violin and gamba sonatas is unquestionably a continuo part: there is no attempt to weave a complete texture without recourse to keyboard harmony. It may be questioned whether this was supplemented by a second gamba in those works where the solo gamba makes frequent excursions to its low register to reinforce or to break the bass line. Even then, however, there might well be a gamba used solely for continuo purposes, for not until the eighteenth century did musicians rebel against such doubling or trebling of the bass line. In several works imitative points are introduced in the bass and are independent of the solo gamba, so that there we can be certain that a third stringed instrument would be used.

One of the most interesting works in the Durham collection is the anonymous violin and gamba Sonata, D₂, No. 17, in which the keyboard part of the first movement is written out. Like the Jenkins Sonata D₅, No. 6, it originates in the fantasy and has so many features in common with the English style that its nationality could be safely asserted even without the British Museum copy (in Add.31423), which attributes it to Jenkins; this, however, lacks the written-out keyboard part. Throughout the opening fantasy the keyboard plays material similar to that of the strings, either independently or by doubling their parts in the manner of fantasy organ parts by Coperario and Jenkins himself. Thus, when the strings pass from crotchet to quaver movement the keyboard does so too; but at the change to string semiquavers the keyboard resumes primarily crotchet movement. And this is not the simple chordal background which would be used to accompany similar string writing in the variation "fantasies". From this point we have the remarkable appearance of a *treble melodic line* in the keyboard part, a *cantus firmus* round which the violin and gamba weave their decorative divisions and counterpoints:

The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is for the Violin (Vn.), the middle for the Viola (VdG), and the bottom for the Organ. The Violin and Viola parts begin with a series of sixteenth-note patterns. The Organ part starts with sustained notes in the bass and then moves to a more active bass line. The score is in common time.

This texture is unique among the Durham manuscripts, and I know of no contemporaneous chamber music in which the keyboard is entrusted with a *cantus firmus*, unless it be in the bass. Even the William Lawes "Fantazyas" with written-out organ parts do not elevate them to this important position. Another deviation from normal practice in this Sonata is the opening of the piece by keyboard alone. It may be assumed that the organ would be used in this work. In the first place the texture of the opening is strongly reminiscent of the "Voluntaries" of seventeenth-century English composers, and its sustained notes would be ineffective on the harpsichord. Similarly, the keyboard treble part is the most important strand in the middle section and must penetrate the elaborate string decoration. While the harpsichord is not too quiet an instrument to balance string parts as an accompaniment, it is unsuited to this outlining of a melody placed between their parts; the sound would merge into the harmony without conveying its linear import. Yet even a soft organ stop, by the contrast of its

wind tone, would admirably make clear the melodic nature of the right-hand part. Lastly, the obvious relationship to the style of the English fantasy suggests the organ, commonly used to accompany even thick string textures in that form. The written part is no more than an outline, and in passages where only two strands are given, widely separated, the player would fill in middle harmony, as though realizing a simple bass. Except in the sections discussed above, he is required to do little more than duplicate and thicken the string parts, and in the two movements, 'Aria' and 'Courant', which follow this 'Fantasia' his part reverts to a simple bass line. It is obvious that the extra stave was introduced only for the treble *cantus firmus*, though its omission in the B.M. copy may cause us to question whether the seventeenth-century continuo player was expected to improvise so coherent a melodic superstructure.

Although no biographical information can be derived from the manuscripts at Durham, a short note on the most prominent composers represented may be considered not altogether irrelevant. Some of them cannot be traced elsewhere, and there is little point in furnishing hypothetical dates for them, as almost all the music in this collection (excluding the solo divisions) appears to date from the third quarter of the seventeenth century. However, I should suggest an amendment to the hypothetical dates to be found elsewhere in references to Henry Butler, one of the principal English composers of this collection. There appears to be no precise information concerning this composer, as he did not serve in the King's Musick. If we attach any significance to the German forms in which his name appears in the Durham manuscripts we may imagine him to have been one of the many English composers who found it more congenial to practise their craft on the Continent during the years of the Commonwealth. Had he returned at the Restoration, however, he would almost certainly have been enlisted in the reconstituted royal band. His name at least was still known in 1676 when Mace included him among the chief writers of divisions, but as Mace was so confirmed a reactionary we may not assume that this implies his being still alive then, or even his recent death. Hayes, in writing both of his viol divisions and his violin sonatas²², dates Butler c. 1630 and Meyer gives 1620-40 as his main period of activity.²³ In his later book Meyer includes Butler with Young and Jenkins as a composer who imitated the baroque German sonata and dates the introduction of the type to England from the

²² Gerald R. Hayes, 'Musical Instruments and their Music, 1500-1750', Book ii, pp. 119 & 192.

²³ 'Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik', p. 16.

middle of the century.²⁴ We can draw two possible conclusions from this apparently conflicting evidence: either Butler wrote his viol divisions in his earlier period and lived to write the new sonatas after 1650 (*pace* Hayes), or he visited Germany and had experience of the new type before his compatriots. Even so, he would be most unlikely to hear many examples of sonata in Germany earlier than the middle of the century, as its cultivation was not general before the spate of musical composition which succeeded the Treaty of Westphalia.²⁵ Unless convincing evidence is forthcoming to show that Butler was a lone innovator writing violin and gamba sonatas some twenty years before they became popular, we must conclude that the early date given to his works is untenable. There are so many points in common between him and Young and the German sonata composers of the Durham collection that the matter scarcely requires further comment.

Though little more is known of William Young's early career than of Butler, his return to England at the Restoration enables us to date his death precisely. W. G. Whittaker wrote an essay²⁶ on the Young 1653 sonatas and edited a modern reprint²⁷; but, despite his many years' work at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, he appears not to have known the three sonatas and the division fantasies at Durham. Both Whittaker and Hayes give 1672 as the year of Young's death, and the latter quotes Lafontaine²⁸ as his authority. Grove's Dictionary (5th ed.) gives a more exact date: 21 December 1671. The entry in 'The King's Musick' to which Hayes refers us—"1672 March 30" (p. 243)—does indeed mention "William Young deceased" and the confirmation of Nicholas Staggins's appointment as his successor, but an earlier entry "1671, December 21" has already mentioned Young as deceased and named Staggins in his place. There is no indication of Young's age either in the records or on the collection of his music published at Innsbruck in 1653 and preserved in a single copy in the University of Uppsala Library, but this does inform us that he had been a chamber musician to the Archduke of Austria. Whittaker suggests that he may have been a Catholic in exile during the Commonwealth. In the spate of official documents which the Restoration brought

²⁴ 'English Chamber Music', p. 213, footnote 5.

²⁵ 'Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik', p. 66.

²⁶ 'The Dominant', July–August 1929; reprinted in 'Collected Essays' (Oxford, 1940), p. 90.

²⁷ '11 Sonatas for 2, 3 and 4 violins, gamba and continuo' and '19 Dances for 2 violins, gamba and continuo' (Oxford, 1930).

²⁸ H. C. de Lafontaine, 'The King's Musick: a Transcript of Records' (Novello, 1909).

about the frequent appearance of his name indicates that he must quickly have been on the scene.²⁹

The main details of John Jenkins's life (1592-1678) are well known, but it is often difficult to date his work as he seems to have practised the old fantasy style and the new continuo style simultaneously. A group of polyphonic fantasies in the Bodleian Library³⁰ bears the date 1654, yet he is claimed³¹ to have published a set of trio-sonatas for the Italian group only six years later. It is possible that he was introduced to the German sonata style by Young, who joined him in the King's Musick. In the examples at Durham he turns it to his own very individual end in a synthesis of its brilliant manner and the formal procedures of the fantasy.

The German composers are more obscure figures, though Meyer's catalogue is a useful guide to their other works and their period of activity. The most notable is Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (1623-80), one of the earliest Austrian composers to write solo violin music and the master of Heinrich Biber. At Durham there are examples of his sonatas for both the German and Italian groups. Dietrich Becker (died 1679) also wrote for both groups, though he is represented in these manuscripts by only one (German) sonata; his first book of sonatas and suites is preserved in the Durham printed music. A "Cuccu" Sonata by "Abell" is attributed by Meyer to Clamor Heinrich Abel, a composer who published works at Frankfurt and Brunswick between 1674 and 1687; this seems likely from the musical evidence, as the Sonata is certainly one of the latest in the collection. Furthermore, Abel favoured the programmatic—titles of his works include a battle Sonata and a 'Kriegsexercitium der Infanterie'—but his extremely dull exploitation of the cuckoo motif does not suggest a neglected seventeenth-century Strauss. Johann Michael Nicolay has been mentioned as another of the latest composers, and Meyer gives details of works published in 1675 and 1682; the three gamba suites at Durham should be noted in

²⁹ Whittaker states that "in 1660 he entered Charles the Second's private band as a flute player" and "in 1661 he was also appointed violinist". This seems to be another misinterpretation of the records. Young's name appears, marked "for the flute" together with that of Isaack Staggins "for the treble hoboy", in a list originally compiled in 1660 but including additions made at various later dates. As there is no specific reference to him as a flute player until 1665, when he was "appointed for the flute in the place of Henry Bassano deceased" and Staggins was similarly appointed for the hoboy, it seems quite certain that the entries on the earlier list are later additions. On the other hand his name appears high on the first list of violins, compiled in 1660, and I suggest that it was on this instrument that he was first engaged.

³⁰ E 406-9. The reference is from Meyer.

³¹ Notably by Hawkins. Meyer alone, in modern times, appears to have attempted to trace a copy of the work ('English Chamber Music', p. 216, footnote 2); his efforts met with no success, though he believes that a British Museum MS (presumably the dance-suites in Add. 31430) may be a transcript of the work.

addition to Meyer's list, but the Sonata for two violins and continuo to which he refers should be deleted. This is a misreading of the library catalogue in which a work by Nicola Matteis appears under "Nicola". Though the single Sonata by the Italian Zamponi is far in advance of most of the collection for its powers of expression, I know nothing of the composer beyond Bukofzer's reference to his opera 'Ulisse', produced in Brussels in 1650.

Thus our knowledge of the men responsible for the music of these manuscripts is very meagre. It is not likely to be greatly widened, as none of them—other than Jenkins, Young and Schmelzer—has left enough music of sufficiently high quality to justify extensive research on his own account. Viewed collectively, their music has a historical interest which this article has tried to reveal in some degree; it constitutes a backwater of seventeenth-century music which will never attract popular attention but is none the less worthy of an occasional exploration.

RICHARD CAPELL IN EGYPT

BY GERHARD WILLNER

INCREDIBLE as it seems, a year has gone by already since the death of Richard Capell; but to the tributes paid to him so eloquently at the time I still have to add something on an aspect not so far touched upon. It was early in 1943 that he arrived in Cairo for a stay of about eighteen months. Despite his duties as a war correspondent he used every spare moment to serve music. Every music-lover in the armed forces realized that it was mainly Capell's presence that made Cairo a cultural oasis in Egypt at that time. It strengthened the faith of thousands in the survival of our western civilization.

The British soldiers spoke of him with an affectionate pride and were duly grateful to the man who seemed to symbolize much of what they held dear and regarded as beautiful. During the interval of a concert they would gather round him and follow with rapt attention his illuminating comments on a work just heard. If ever the performance had failed to transport them into mysterious realms, then surely Capell's words did it.

The sheer weight of his personality, his noble judgment, authority and boundless enthusiasm—all this swept away the parochialism of Cairo's musical life from one day to another. He became the strongest ally of all musicians, whether in the armed forces or civilian, in whom he found some of his own humility. Self-centred or careless performers found him unyielding; but even then, how much did they learn from the wisdom of his notices! He would never hurt anyone unnecessarily, and in Egypt, too, his readers were deeply impressed with his beautiful style. He was a master in the art of omission. At a period of distorted values he became a tower of strength for all who shared his lofty ideals, and his articles and talks gave a glimpse of a better world to thousands.

After the conclusion of my performance of Beethoven's thirty-two pianoforte sonatas I felt inclined to write to Capell in order to thank him for his sustained interest in the series. His notices, of course, had substantially contributed to its success and also greatly increased the interest in what he once had so beautifully described as "the sacred book of music". Fortunately I did not write. Capell had just at that time given a talk entitled 'Musicians I have met'. A soldier who had heard it told me that it was opened with the characteristic remark that it is generally part of a music critic's function *not* to have personal contact with his "victims". Yet my lucky day was not far off.

A sergeant in charge of music at a large military camp near Cairo invited Capell to give a talk on Beethoven's sonatas, which was to be followed by my performance of three of them. With his customary generosity Capell accepted the invitation, however hard pressed for time he was. He asked for a loan of the music and suggested that I should come to his hotel to discuss programme details. This took us less than five minutes, yet four hours elapsed before I left the ugly Cairo building, enriched and elated as rarely in my life. What musical subjects did we not discuss! Forgotten was the sweltering heat, forgotten the more than uncongenial surroundings, forgotten even the tea in front of us which had long become cold and stale. Not one personal word was spoken at this unforgettable meeting, but I came away with the feeling of having acquired a staunch friend and of never having experienced a greater understanding of my own artistic ideals.

The real beginning of this precious friendship was our joint venture on a subject so dear to him and to me. Never shall I forget that uplifting talk on Beethoven's sonatas. In a sparsely lit and crowded army hall Capell was pouring out his wonderful thoughts at top speed. From time to time he would glance at his watch, interjecting an angry "bother" into the stream of his inspiration. Never in my entire career did I regret so much that a recital had to come to an end.

After Richard Capell had left Cairo, the Egyptian capital seemed empty and its musical scene returned to its former dullness. As one of the most touching symbols of friendship my wife and I treasure Capell's glorious book on Schubert's songs. It must have taken him some considerable trouble to obtain a copy for us, as the unique work is out of print. Throughout the following nine years he continued sending us concert programmes, pamphlets and books on music regularly, and—for us the most valuable items—his articles for 'The Daily Telegraph'. The last of these "spiritual food parcels", as we used to call them, arrived a few days only before his untimely death. All this he did to keep us in touch with the musical pulse of the world, and it was he above all who made us realize our wish to settle in London—too late, alas! to see him again.

Like Franz Schubert, the composer nearest to his heart, Richard Capell never had a selfish thought. For those who have had the blessing of his friendship, the sense of an immeasurable personal loss is bound to outweigh by far the thought that in his passing music has been deprived of one of its high priests. I can think of no other man to whose life and work this sentence of Seneca could be more fully applied: "Operae pretium solvitur—animae debetur".

MIND, HANDS AND KEYBOARD

BY PHILIP T. BARFORD

A REMARKABLY interesting book was published about two years ago in America. It is called 'New Pathways to Piano Technique' and rather ominously subtitled 'A Study of the Relations between Mind and Body with special reference to Piano Playing'. It is published by the Philosophical Library, New York. The author, Luigi Bonpensiere, was a many-sided man with an extremely original mind. The first part of his career was spent in Italy and Europe, where he achieved some fame as a conductor. He has an opera and some oratorios to his credit—all unpublished as yet—and a number of remarkable paintings combining medieval symbolism and modern techniques. In America Bonpensiere invented a calculating-machine which, had he been sufficiently inclined to pursue the undertaking, would have displaced every other such machine on the market.

To my mind Bonpensiere's most noteworthy achievement is his discovery and formulation of Ideo-Kinesis, with which his book on piano playing is concerned. It touches upon philosophy and psychology in expounding a novel and quite revolutionary approach to the keyboard. For this reason, the psychologist or philosopher may feel rather more at home with the book than the average modern musician. Even so, the basic principles can be tested by any one, and a little successful experiment in Ideo-Kinesis opens the door to a new world of musical freedom and adventure, provided the reader approaches the subject with an unprejudiced mind. As Ideo-Kinesis invokes the principle of faith, and gives it a fascinating application, this last qualification is important. Perhaps I ought to add, in warning, that 'New Pathways' is really a collection of notes taken from the author's notebooks (Bonpensiere died in 1944), that the note-style is occasionally difficult and that some readers may find the terminology a little strange. I am nevertheless convinced that this will not trouble the reader who already possesses some insight into the deeper levels of piano playing.

Ideo-Kinesis is reducible, in the field of piano playing (it has wider applications), to a few principles which are simple in essence but difficult to formulate. Firstly, there must be complete unconcern about all physical movements. This will not come easily to the piano student who has spent years in careful and conscious study of the movements of his hands, wrists and arms. Secondly, there must be a clear and intense concentration upon the musical end-result—much more than the average piano student applies to his practice.

Thirdly, the clear musical end-result must be willed *and expected* simultaneously with its conception. Lastly, apart from the intense *ideation* (Bonpensiere's term) of the musical end-result, both mind and body must be perfectly serene. This means that there must be no doubt or wavering, no day-dreaming and above all no obtruding self-consciousness to clog the processes of musical thought and the freedom of the body.

Thus, to take a simple example, the pianist must not consciously push down or in any sense manipulate his fingers. In playing a five-finger exercise he tells himself in effect: "I am not my fingers"—and just thinks 1-2-3-4-5, expecting the familiar sounds at the same moment. The degree of clarity and precision in the playing reflects exactly the clarity and precision of the thought. The mental conception is the power of the act, and both are one. One useful short cut to ideo-kinetic playing is to sit relaxed at the piano and play with the same attitude of mind and body adopted when reading the music *away* from the instrument. Music can be read in a chair without any physical preoccupation. Right! Carry the same sense of mental detachment to the keyboard. Try it first with the music of Bach, and do not permit mental serenity to be disturbed by the incredible way the thumbs and fingers short-circuit the editor's fingering. But let us go into the matter a little more deeply.

Luigi Bonpensiere found that there are two ways in which an act can be willed and performed. He distinguished between Physio-Kinesis, which achieves its objects by the operations of the physiological will expressing itself in the conscious manipulation of a material medium, and Ideo-Kinesis, which withdraws from any attempt to work upon a medium by conscious physiological manipulation.

"The initiated in Ideo-Kinetics knows that his ideation can follow two courses:

- A. Either he entrusts the ideation to his physiological will and, in so doing, he makes his hands work—physio-kinetics.
- B. Or he must entirely disconnect from physiological volition of his own and limit his activity to his ideation—ideo-kinetics.

In A, he must be conscious that his self is extended to the physiology of his hands.

In B, he must be thoroughly convinced that the physiology of his hands is entirely beyond the dominion of self."

Thus there are two ways of striking a chord on the piano. Firstly, we put out our hand, place it deliberately on the keys, depress the fingers, and so sound the chord by the conscious and controlled application of physical pressure. A loud or soft effect

will be achieved according to the degree of speed applied, again by deliberate control, to the depression of the fingers. Alternatively, we can sit at the piano in a completely relaxed state of mind and body, even lounging easily in a chair if desired. In fact, the reader can try this experiment as he reads. Let him tell himself that whatever happens he is NOT going to lift his hand and put it on the keys. He is NOT going to apply pressure. Nor is he going to depress the keys quickly or slowly to produce a loud or soft effect. Instead, he is going to do nothing except imagine a picture of the hand on the keys, and *will*, in precisely the same moment that he is determined to do nothing at all, that the mental picture of the hand on the keys shall be realized in physical fact. The hand will leap out, as if pulled by the keys, to hit the mark. If the ideation of the chord included loudness, then the chord will be sounded loudly. Whatever the ideation contained will be faithfully reproduced. If an element of doubt obtruded just as the hand began its journey to the keys, then one of the fingers, or possibly the whole hand, will miss its mark. The greatest enemy of success is self-consciousness allied with scepticism.

The same experiment can be tried much more convincingly with closed eyes. The hand will still hit the mark provided that the appropriate visual or aural image is clear. Provided the mind is concentrating upon the result in a state of complete detachment from concern about fingers, either an imagined picture of the key or keys to be hit, or the imagined sound of the note or chord desired will be sufficient to make the hand leap from its place of rest to hit the right notes. The identical test can be made with a few objects disposed haphazardly on the table. Any object can be touched over and over again with closed eyes if the mind can cling to a visual image of the object or a symbol denoting it. An object can be symbolized by a figure or letter in just the same way that a musical note can be symbolized by a black dot with a tail. This experiment proves that a beginner at the piano need never look at the keyboard to find a note once he has memorized the note-symbolism appropriate to the topography of the keys. Nor need he try to find notes by feel. It should be stressed, however, that an *imagined* sensation of touch, *e.g.* the *idea* of the feel of the triad of C major, can be used as a purely mental symbol just like the musical notation or mental pictures of the keys. In the case of the pianist who learned by traditional methods, key-feel has long since been stored as a *symbolic system* in the depths of his mind, even though, in continuing to rely more upon actual feel than upon tactile imagination, he fails to take full advantage of this.

Ideally, however, ideo-kinetic playing is independent of tactile sensation, real or imaginary. The whole aim of 'New Pathways' is to stimulate the performer to identify his being with the musical thought and not with physical technique. Hence there is great stress upon the important concept of "release", which the author employs to free the mind from the belief that the being of the performer has anything to do with the being of his hands. In ideo-kinetic playing the hands are not *ME*. They are part of the objective physical world, and they function accordingly, that is with utter adequacy to the musical end-result so long as the performer has "got himself out of the way". Strictly speaking, the mind thinks creatively and nature provides the spontaneous material realization of the creative thought.

Release is far more than "relaxation", which, important though this is, is only a preliminary to it. Release is a mental condition (from the point of view of the artist I think it is best described as a spiritual condition) which prevails when the mind is honestly indifferent to physical movements and serenely untroubled by any fears of error. A useful aid to release is the adoption of an arbitrary symbol to bring it about—a letter or figure will do. Thus, having ideated a clear end-result, release from physiological preoccupation is brought about by flashing this arbitrary symbol before the mental eye. The effort of holding this symbol momentarily "frees" the mind from any thought about the hands. Precisely at this moment of liberation the hands render the previously ideated end-result into musical sound. When a difficulty arises in playing, the thing to do is to ideate the music as it ought to sound and, in plunging into it, cover it with the arbitrary symbol. The physical movements appropriate to the mental conception are then no longer the concern of the conscious self. They are looked after by the physical organism considered as belonging to "the objective collectivity of nature".

It is important to stress that the physical results will only express the mental ideation. An inadequate imaginative grasp of the music can only, however perfect the release, yield a tasteless fruit. And doubt about the whole business prevents ideo-kinetic functioning. If you don't believe it is possible, then, for you, it will never be possible.

Perhaps I shall be forgiven for giving the discussion a more personal tone. It just happens that I am interested in the religious philosophy of the East—especially the doctrine of non-attachment which has a central place in Buddhism; so I had the chance of testing Bonpensiere's principles in a context of thought which has held my attention for some years. An important principle which emerges one way or another in most eastern thought is that "the

perfect act has no result". In its eastern formulations it is a practical, philosophic or religious principle; and in the West it is now being explored and classified as a psychological—or better, psycho-physical—fact.

In perfect piano playing it is obvious that the master-pianist achieves an integration of musical thought and physical movement so complete that it is unreal to separate them as "thought" and "result", or cause and effect. Since thought and action are one action, even the music cannot be regarded as a result, since it exists simultaneously with the physical actions which, in turn, spontaneously express the musical thought. The musical thought is here *one* with the actual contemplation of the music. What we so often conceive as a cycle of causes and effects is, ideally, a unified moment of musical function. Instead of reading, thinking, playing and listening, there is only thought and contemplation. This goes some way to explain why, in ideo-kinetic playing, the music itself seems to find an adequate—though often highly unorthodox—fingering automatically. It is as if the conscious thought IS—in terms of physiology—spontaneously adequate movement of the hands. In this sphere the unity of mind and body is an experienced fact and not a psychological theory. The paradoxical truth behind all this is that by relinquishing control over the body in assigning it to "the objective collectivity of nature" the essential mind-body unity becomes, in fact, more consciously integrated than ever before. Or is it simply that we become conscious of our *real state*?

It is interesting to read the different reactions of both psychologists and music critics to 'New Pathways'. Psychologists are already acquainted with what they call Psycho-Kinesis (this is concerned with the mental control of physical events without direct physical intervention), and are aware that in certain conditions an unusual faculty integrates mental functioning and movements of the hands. This faculty is, of course, one of the most important in the processes of artistic creation generally; it is unusual only in that it is not understood and has not yet been fully investigated. Psychologists were therefore kindly disposed towards the findings of Luigi Bonpensiere. The musicians, on the other hand, have their traditions to defend and their techniques to uphold, and so they were more canny.

Thus, where Professor Renshaw of the Ohio State University notes the existence of "ample and substantial evidence supporting the soundness and workability" of Ideo-Kinesis, Dorothy Bradley feels that "such a work as this could be assimilated, and its precepts tested, only by a person of some experience and a mental background trained to receive its esoteric teachings". ("The Music

Teacher', October 1953.) Professor Renshaw believes that all who teach the piano should give the book "very careful and thoughtful study", and another American psychologist, Professor Gardner Murphy, sees in Ideo-Kinesis "a very significant innovation with broad implications". A cautious reviewer in 'The Musical Times' (August 1953) only seems to detect revolutionary ideas which, "in spite of their obscurity . . . should be investigated".

Music critics abroad responded rather more warmly, and a reviewer in the Australian journal 'The Canon' (July 1953) writes: "A study of this book will convince the reader that the study of ideo-kinetics is no pseudo-psychological pipe dream, for it must ultimately be recognized as a significant contribution to the literature of pianoforte technique." The adoption of ideo-kinetics "must lead to greater mental discipline and control, and the saving in time and effort must be considerable".

The science editor of 'The New York Times', Waldemar Kaempffert, has expressed the wish in a letter to Maria Bonpensiere (the author's widow) that something like 'New Pathways' had come into his hands when he was studying the piano with a pupil of Leschetizky's, and says that there is no doubt about the importance of the psychic factor in piano playing. "The late Leopold Godowsky told me as much, and from what I have heard from their friends, Rachmaninoff and Hoffman thought as he did. Your husband seems to have worked out a practical system that ought to be invaluable to piano students who aspire to become performers of more than average ability."

'New Pathways' really does seem to be the first systematic western application of an age-old wisdom, and its implications affect the whole world of thought and action. The truth behind it emphasizes an outlook on nature different from that to which the West is accustomed. We think in terms of *Mind's mastery over Matter*. Ideo-Kinesis, however, allies mastery with *passivity—Mind in and through Matter*—and gives us one practical application of a philosophy of spirit from which all creative artists can learn much.¹

A great advance in knowledge is always made when something fundamental to a worth-while activity which has hitherto functioned subconsciously or inspirationally is brought out into the full light of conscious scrutiny and formulated scientifically. I do not think Ideo-Kinesis is new to the world of music; only that 'New Pathways' is the first systematic exposition of it. The history of music gives a

¹ In fact it is justified completely by the Buddhist doctrine of Mind-Only.

NOTE: The quotations from Professor Renshaw, Professor Gardner Murphy and Mr. Waldemar Kaempffert are taken from private letters to Maria Bonpensiere. They are inserted in the text with her permission and that of the writers concerned.—P. T. B.

clue to it here and there. Chopin's father, in a letter to his son, marvels that Chopin did so little practice (relatively speaking) at home, and that he seemed to play with his mind rather than with his hands. In Ideo-Kinesis, Bonpensiere writes, we *are* playing with our mind. In this connection we may note another hospitable review, this time by Paul Mies in 'Die Musikforschung'. Dr. Mies refers to another possibly confirmatory instance of Ideo-Kinesis—Schunke's performance of the 'Toccata' dedicated to him by Schumann. Schunke, who lived for a time in the next room to Schumann, had apparently memorized the work from hearing the composer play it. In performance, he had only to release his ideation of it for his hands to function spontaneously.

Every pianist who can improvise, if only a little, knows something intuitively of Ideo-Kinesis. The important thing is to develop and systematize something in experience which lurks, seemingly, just below the level of everyday consciousness, and this Bonpensiere has successfully accomplished.

An English pianist, George Woodhouse, grasped something of Ideo-Kinesis and expressed it—though rather obscurely I feel—in 'A Realistic Approach to Piano Playing', published recently by Augener. He had some interesting things to say about the relation between the Spirit of Music and the physical side of performance, and touches upon the psychology of release in connection with the oriental religious philosophy of Taoism. Matthay stopped short at the concept of relaxation when, with a further intuitive leap, he might have discovered the much more comprehensive concept of release, as it is formulated by Luigi Bonpensiere. The physical movements which operate spontaneously *without* practice and physical preparation in Ideo-Kinesis are sometimes similar to those which Matthay developed consciously by relaxation studies. But there is a world of difference between the two approaches.

Perhaps I have said enough to stimulate interest in what is surely a valuable and revealing work. I have tested it, within the limits of my present capacity, and feel able to assert authoritatively that it works. I am certain that all pianists who approach the matter hospitably will find the same. Fascinating fields await exploration, as Luigi Bonpensiere was well aware. His own outlook on the matter is modest and unassuming, and he makes no claim to have accomplished more than the placing of a foundation-stone. Whatever reception 'New Pathways' meets with in the immediate future, I am absolutely certain that this gifted man formulated principles vital to the artistic and spiritual health not only of musicians, but of humanity in general.

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE AUTHENTICITY OF BACH'S 'KLEINE MAGNIFICAT'

BY FREDERICK HUDSON AND ALFRED DÜRR

IN the first Bachgesellschaft volume of 1862¹ Wilhelm Rust made the following statement with reference to settings of the Magnificat which he attributed to Bach:

We have still to consider a solo Magnificat for soprano and small orchestra consisting of several arias. The autograph in question was owned some six to eight years ago by the late Professor S. W. Dehn and we had at that time the opportunity to convince ourselves with our own eyes of the genuineness of this work. Since then all trace of it has been lost, and it is to be regretted that in spite of all our efforts it has been impossible to recover it.

Rust's description, "Magnificat für Sopran und kleines Orchester", is the origin of the title 'Das kleine Magnificat' by which this work has been referred to colloquially ever since. It has made its ghostly appearance in the volumes of Spitta, Schweitzer, Schering and others, from 1880 to Schmieder's 'Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis' (BWV) of 1950 (where it is catalogued as Anh. 21), the sole authority being the above quotation from Rust.

We have to thank the late Professor W. Gillies Whittaker (†1944) for tracing the lost manuscript to the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library, Leningrad, early in 1939, and for describing the manuscript in an essay which appeared in the October 1940 issue of the present periodical.² In his essay Whittaker proves beyond any doubt that the work he has found is really an autograph of his composer and not the work of a copyist, quoting as proof ten examples, out of a considerable number in the seven pages of the manuscript, where the composer has had second thoughts, or where he has corrected errors noticed during the act of composition. Whittaker poses and then refutes the possibility of the work's being by a contemporary or predecessor of Bach and states his belief, as did Dehn and Rust, that it is a Bach autograph. Unfortunately he does not seem to have compared the handwriting of this work with works by Bach which are proved to be in his hand.

On behalf of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe³ the present writers have collaborated in a recent investigation into the authenticity of the

¹BG, 11 (1), p. xx.

²Vol. XXI, p. 312.

³Bach Institute, Göttingen, and Bach Archives, Leipzig, published by Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1954 onwards.

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so-called 'Kleine Magnificat', the results of which are described below.

The manuscript has the following superscription in German:

This present composition of the 'Magnificat' according to the German translation: St. Luke I, v. 46, for one voice with accompaniment of a flute, violin and continuo, is written in Johann Sebastian Bach's own hand and comes from his younger years, presumably before 1720.

Berlin, 1 October 1857.

Professor S. W. Dehn,
Curator of the Royal Library in Berlin.

Under that there appears this dedication written in the same hand:

An Herrn Alexis von Lwoff—Maître de la cour, sénateur et directeur de la chapelle impériale de Russie à St. Pétersbourg.

These two passages have been compared with authenticated examples of Dehn's handwriting, and there is no doubt that it is his script. This can be accepted as definite proof that the work under investigation is, in fact, the same manuscript as that formerly in the possession of Dehn and examined by Rust, as stated in his passage quoted above.

Below the dedication in French there are three lines in Russian cursive script concerning Lwov's presentation of the manuscript to the St. Petersburg Library and dated 7/19 October 1857. Within the manuscript itself there is no indication whatsoever of who wrote it.

A detailed examination of the manuscript was made comparing the handwriting, first with proven autographs of Bach's youthful period (as Dehn and Whittaker suggested this as the probable time of composition) and then with autographs of his later periods. Among the earliest autographs known to us are those of 'Gott ist mein König' (BWV 71), facsimiles of which are readily accessible in BG. 44, pp. 1-3, twelve pages of the Wedding Quodlibet fragment (BWV 524) and three pages of a Prelude and Fugue in G minor (BWV 535a) which are preserved from the Möllersche manuscript.⁴ All these autographs display a neat script with small pen strokes and careful spacing. Apart from the completely different impression given by the 'Kleine Magnificat' manuscript, numerous individual notational forms are strikingly dissimilar to any which have been found in Bach's handwriting: e.g. the treble, bass and C clefs; the

⁴The authors wish to record their indebtedness to the Director of the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library, Leningrad, and to Mrs. Mary Pollitzer, daughter of the late Prof. Whittaker, both of whom kindly placed photocopies of the 'Kleine Magnificat' at their disposal. The authorities of the Leningrad Library are thanked for kind permission to reproduce facsimiles of the first and last pages of the manuscript. It is believed that this is the first time they have appeared in any publication.

⁵These pages from the Möllersche MS are described as autograph for the first time in the 'Bach Jahrbuch' of 1912, pp. 48-49.

hooks of the single semiquaver are made in one pen stroke, resembling an "s" or a "z", while Bach in all his known autographs wrote the newer two-hook form; the note-stems of the quaver and semiquaver groups are very long, extending considerably beyond the cross-strokes, and end (or begin) with a bulbous thickening of the stem; the figure 3 in the 3-4 time signatures is written with a great flourish while Bach's are much plainer. The script of such indications as *Violino*, *Traverso*, *Accompag.*, *all' unisono*, *piano*, etc., displays different characteristics from Bach's handwriting: e.g. the letter "l" here has a loop at the top while that of Bach is pointed.

Then there is the use of the *flauto traverso* which, it is established, Bach did not use until his Cöthen period: here it is written under the *violino* part while Bach invariably wrote it above. In his essay Whittaker cited the "J.J." ("Jesu Juva") invocation at the top of the first page of the manuscript and the final "Soli Deo Gloria" as conclusive proof of this work's being an autograph composition by Bach, but this was quite a common practice with composers of his time and was not employed solely by Bach. Further, in the 'Kleine Magnificat' manuscript the "J.J." is followed by the initials "N.H.", which appear nowhere else in Bach, and the word "Gloria" is, as far as we know, always written by Bach with a capital letter. The whole impression of the script points to an experienced writer and not to the composition of a beginner. As Whittaker has already provided convincing proof that the writing down of the newly discovered Magnificat has been done by its composer himself, the possibility that this is a genuine Bach work is excluded.

A stylistic comparison leads to the same conclusion. Nothing in the known works of Bach's youthful period displays the technique as drawn so very well by the composer of the 'Kleine Magnificat'. On the whole the melodic line is much more static than that of Bach, it has too much repetition and especially are there too many sequences. The first movement has a calculated emotional effect—the dotted rhythm, the dwelling on the semitone interval B to C and the sudden changes from minor mode to major mode in bars 5, 6, 14, etc. There is nothing similar to this in Bach. Stylistically the composition has no sort of characteristics typical of Bach at all. Dehn's interpretation⁶, to which Whittaker adheres, of the 'Kleine

⁶Dehn's complete lack of knowledge of Bach's handwriting is betrayed by his superscription on the original parts (BB Mus. MS Bach St. 122) of Bach's motet 'Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied' (BWV 225). He writes there: "All singing parts are written in his hand". On the contrary, the parts, with minor exceptions, are in the hand of Bach's chief copyist at Leipzig, whose handwriting is very clearly distinguishable from that of Bach, while strangely enough it shows a distant similarity to that of the composer of 'Kleine Magnificat'.

Magnificat' as a youthful work by Bach falls down immediately a comparison is made with the early works of Bach that are proved to be genuine. It is a great disappointment to the present writers to be forced to delete the so-called 'Kleine Magnificat' from the list of authentic Bach works.

¶ A recent comparison was also made of the score (BB Mus. MS Bach P 195) of the Magnificat in C (BWV Anh. 30), which is extant in J. S. Bach's handwriting and was rejected as spurious by Wilhelm Rust in BG. 11 (1), p. xv. This composition shows quite clearly by its style that it is not by J. S. Bach. Moreover there is no indication within the manuscript, so that the spuriousness can be looked upon as proved. If one excepts Bach's paraphrased setting of the Magnificat in German, 'Meine Seele erhebt den Herren' (BWV 10), the only authentic Magnificat composition that can be proved to be by him is therefore the Latin Magnificat (BWV 243) which exists in its first setting in the key of E \flat and in its later form in the key of D.

NOTES TO PLATES

PLATE 1. The top of the second leaf appears above page 1 of the MS.
PLATE 2. The right-hand edge of the left half of this sheet can be seen.



"Das kleine Magnificat" page 1

11

Das kleine Magnificat

11

Soli Deo gloria!

PABLO DE SARASATE: HIS HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

BY GRANGE WOOLLEY¹

ALTHOUGH the compositions of the great Spanish violinist Pablo de Sarasate are, like those of Paganini and Wieniawski, brilliant virtuoso pieces of enduring popularity, Paganini alone of the three has attracted the continued interest of musical biographers and historians. In the case of Sarasate it has been the general consensus of critical opinion that his works for the violin, in spite of their undeniable concert effectiveness, are of comparatively little artistic importance; nor has the story of his life been considered a sufficiently unique or romantic subject to promise great rewards either to author or publisher.² Obviously Sarasate's works are not of a nature to warrant the involved theoretical appraisal which adds so much interest to the biographies of great composers. But that does not mean that they are of small artistic value and historically insignificant; and his biography constitutes an important chapter in the history of Spanish and French music.

Sarasate was born on 10 March 1844 at Pamplona, a picturesque old fortress city commanding one of the principal passes of the Pyrenees and renowned in history as the capital of the kingdom of Navarre.³ He was christened Martin Melitón Sarasate y Navascués. It was not until he began his professional career as a young concert violinist in Paris that he changed his name to Pablo de Sarasate.

Like most violin virtuosos, he was a child prodigy. His father, Don Miguel Sarasate, a regimental bandmaster, was also an amateur violinist. The story is told that one day Don Miguel was practising his violin and having great difficulty with a technically complicated passage. Little Martin listened for a while with growing and evident impatience. At last Don Miguel, piqued by his son's

¹ Professor Woolley's essay, here reproduced in a slightly abridged form, was the outcome of his sabbatical leave from Drew University, Madison (N.J.), U.S.A.

² Two books, both in Spanish, have appeared on Sarasate: 'Pablo de Sarasate', by José de Altadill, Pamplona 1908, a rather awkward compilation of facts pertaining to Sarasate's career as a virtuoso gleaned from the collection of Sarasate's papers in the Museo de Sarasate, Pamplona; and 'Sarasate', by Leon Zarate (pseudonym of Yvette Bourget), Ediciones Ave, Barcelona 1945. Miss Bourget, with whom this author discussed Sarasate during a visit to Barcelona last year, has written an interesting, well-documented fictional biography. However, she scarcely touches upon the question of his artistic, historic significance.

³ It was during my visit to Pamplona in 1953 that I realized the importance of Sarasate's Basque origin and of the place which he permanently occupies in the hearts and minds of the people of Pamplona. They are now planning a more imposing statue than the present one to honour his memory.

attitude, told him to try it himself. Martín, who at the time was only five, took up his own diminutive violin and played the passage perfectly and with the greatest of ease. From that day—so goes the story—Don Miguel never again played the violin. Perhaps also from that day dated the mild animosity between father and son which later, when Sarasate had won the Premier Prix at the Paris Conservatoire, on his refusal to return to Spain with his father, caused a breach which lasted till the latter's death.

At a first triumphal concert at La Coruña in 1852 the little violinist enlisted the admiration and generous sympathy of the Condesa Espoz y Mina, who made him an annual grant of 2,000 *reales* to enable him to continue his studies. In Madrid, where, like a Spanish Mozart, he became the darling of the royal family, he soon learnt all that Spain's foremost violin professor, Don Rodríguez Saez, felt capable of teaching him. Don Rodríguez urged his pupil to go to Paris in order to study with the famous Alard at the Paris Conservatoire. Accompanied by his mother, the eleven-year-old prodigy boarded a train for Paris. But at the French frontier town of Bayonne Señora Sarasate was suddenly seized with a heart attack and died. Fortunately the Spanish consul at Bayonne, Don Ignacio García, a wealthy, philanthropic bachelor, immediately took the grief-stricken boy in charge. Still another calamity was at hand. The doctor who had been called to attend Señora Sarasate discovered that the boy was in the first stage of cholera. In spite of this and the protests of his two maiden sisters, Don García took Sarasate to his home, rigged up an "isolation ward" in the attic and there personally nursed him back to health.

When Sarasate finally arrived in Paris and was heard by Alard, the latter immediately recognized his unusual promise. Taking from the outset a paternal interest in his new pupil, Alard arranged for him to live at the home of a colleague, Lassabathie, administrative director of the Conservatoire. The Lassabathies were childless, and it was not long before they came to look upon the young Sarasate as their own son.

At the age of seventeen Sarasate was awarded the coveted Premier Prix du Conservatoire. According to all accounts he could have won it before that, but Alard wisely held him back so that he should not begin his professional career too soon.

As a man Sarasate was proud and aloof towards strangers, sometimes condescending and sarcastic with his friends who, knowing his fundamentally generous and affectionate nature, were willing to put up with his unpredictable moods. Those who had been familiar with him in his youth in Paris were aware that part of his moodiness

was due to a first and final profound disappointment in love which he had experienced. He had been desperately enamoured of Marie Lefébure-Wély, daughter of the well-known organist and composer; but she had suddenly decided to marry a man whom, it was said, her parents had chosen for her. Sarasate's tender melody 'Les Adieux', which was addressed to Mlle. Lefébure-Wély, was also an elegy on the death of sentimental love in his own heart. Not only did he remain a bachelor all his life, he became more and more cynical in regard to women. In spite of this he always retained, at least outwardly, the traditional Spanish *caballero's* attitude of gallantry towards members of the fair sex. Leopold Auer, who as a young man knew Sarasate at the height of his fame, observes that the latter always carried a supply of Spanish fans to present to his lady admirers.⁴ That many ladies pined for him in hopeless adoration is only what one would expect. Although small in stature he was, as a young man, decidedly handsome and he always bore himself proudly and dressed impeccably.⁵ Later he grew somewhat pudgy, yet his large brown eyes never lost their captivating expressiveness. The volume of mail from his feminine admirers increased steadily through the years, but, as Altadill remarks, "the perfumed notes remained unopened".

In 1953, at the Academia de Música of Pamplona, the director, Señor Miguel de Echeveste, kindly allowed me to read a manuscript volume of love letters in the form of a diary addressed to Sarasate. Entitled 'Souvenirs d'une artiste (1886-1904)', it is a series of soliloquies and imaginary conversations which the authoress carried on with Sarasate over a period of eighteen years.⁶ In spite of the beautiful and obviously sincere sentiments expressed in these pages, Sarasate is said to have shrugged with indifference when mentioning it. That, of course, does not necessarily mean that he was entirely untouched by such wistful, eloquent devotion. One thing which struck me as particularly interesting was that this French lady, married to a Spaniard, continually spoke of Sarasate as if he also were French. Such sentences as "Tu es l'artiste adoré, la gloire de notre France" appear again and again.

Sarasate was decidedly a "man's man" and had many close friends among the Parisian musicians, many of whom, like him, were graduates of the Conservatoire. He was, for instance, on

⁴ L. Auer, 'My Long Life in Music' (New York, 1923).

⁵ I have in my possession a rare photograph of Sarasate as a young man which Professor José de Huarte of the Pamplona Academia de Música kindly gave me. A profile, it shows the handsome features of a sensitive young Basque artist.

⁶ Feeling that Señor de Echeveste considers this manuscript as confidential, I refrain from giving the name of the authoress.

intimate terms of friendship with Bizet, Saint-Saëns, Lalo, Massenet, Diémer and Franck. During the 1870s, already famous, he made the acquaintance of most of the leading French artists and literary celebrities.

There is no doubt that Sarasate, by the time he was seventeen years old and had won the *Premier Prix* at the Conservatoire, already considered himself more a Frenchman than a Spaniard. Although Spain naturally claimed him as her own, he for his part never ceased to cast backhanded and disparaging remarks at many aspects of Spanish life. His particular grievance was that in musical matters Spain was a *tierra de bárbaros*. But this complaint was not his alone: it was the opinion of many enlightened musicians, both Spaniards and foreigners. In an article entitled 'Sarasate y el arte musical en España', dated Madrid, June 1900, one of Spain's best-informed musical critics, the Marqués de Alta Villa, writes:

In Madrid, where one would naturally expect to find the most gifted interpreters of the various arts, including that of the teaching and practice of music, we have in this last field absolutely no official education. That of the Conservatorio de Música y Declamación is an unbelievable disgrace!⁷

The French critic Georges Baudin, in an article on "modern" Spanish music published in 1908, puts it thus:

Spain is a beautiful but indifferent woman . . . And this general, indolent, indifference is especially fatal to musicians.⁸

During his long, glorious, international career as a concert violinist Sarasate always returned to Paris, which was his headquarters and only permanent home. For many years he occupied an apartment in the Rue de Saint-Pétersbourg. Then, in 1884, he signed a long lease on an expensive apartment at 112 Boulevard Malesherbes and engaged Whistler to decorate it for him. When his friends told him that he was foolish to spend so much money on an establishment he could occupy for only a few months a year, he laughed and ironically remarked that the "harmonies" of Whistler's colour-scheme would undoubtedly cost him many a *pizzicato*.

Whistler expressed his desire to do a portrait of Sarasate and, shortly after moving into his new, modernistic, yellow-and-white home, the violinist arranged, between concert tours, to pose several times. There is an interesting reference to this picture, which is considered one of Whistler's best works, in James Laver's biography of the painter. Speaking of the lecture which Whistler delivered in London on modern art before a critical audience in Prince's Hall

⁷ Printed in the 'Revista Sarasate' (Pamplona, July 1900).

⁸ 'La Musique espagnole moderne' ('Bulletin de la Société Internationale de Musique', 15 March 1908).

on 20 February 1885, Laver says that he appeared on the stage "immaculately dressed and looking like his picture of Sarasate". At approximately the same time that Whistler did this portrait of Sarasate he also did an etching of Stéphane Mallarmé. These three artists were curiously similar in appearance.

Although Sarasate unquestionably understood and appreciated the fine qualities of his countrymen and the picturesque aspects of Spanish life—he was, for instance, an enthusiastic *aficionado* of the bullfight—he never felt really at home except in Paris or in his native town of Pamplona. He went back there every summer for the *Fiesta de San Firmin*, and these visits of their idol were looked forward to by the Pamplonese with joy and pride. To this day his rooms at the Hotel La Perla are kept just as they were when he occupied them.

The Pamplonese always followed from afar with keen interest the triumphs of their hero and in February 1900 proclaimed him *hijo predilecto* (favourite son) of the city.

However, that spring, on his way to fulfil an engagement in Madrid, he suffered an insulting wound to his pride in the form of an article in a Madrid newspaper. The writer, commenting on Sarasate's forthcoming concerts in Spain, attacked him for his lack of patriotism and declared that vanity alone brought him back yearly to Pamplona, where he enjoyed being worshipped as a demigod. In spite of the wonderful reception given him in Madrid, when the time came for him to go to Pamplona, he insisted upon arriving there incognito. At the Pamplona railway station he drew his hat down over his face and rode alone in a cab to the Hotel La Perla. However, as soon as he descended at the hotel he was recognized. Immediately the news of his arrival spread. The gun salutes which had been ordered for his welcome were fired. Friends rushed to La Perla to surround their hero.

For many years it had been his custom to spend a month or six weeks at San Sebastián or Biarritz following the end of the *Fiesta de San Firmin* at Pamplona. In December 1901 he bought a seaside villa at Biarritz which he named Villa Navarra. It was there that he passed the seven summers which remained to him and there, on 20 September 1908, that he died of the chronic bronchitis which had plagued him for years.

* * *

It is not generally known that Sarasate was one of the first violin virtuosos to make gramophone recordings. I happen to have in my possession two R. C. A. Victor records which, I presume, were made from the oldfashioned cylinders used in those days. On one of them—an abridged version of 'Zigeunerweisen'—Sarasate's voice,

barely audible, is heard in a quick remark to his accompanist. The other record, made, if I remember correctly, for the celebrations connected with the twenty-fifth anniversary of Sarasate's death and designed particularly for Spain and South America, has on one side the 'Zortzico (Miramar)', Op. 42, and on the other the 'Habanera' Op. 21 No. 2. This record, which unfortunately proved to be very perishable, is made, I believe, of transparent plastic on a cardboard base and is decorated with floral designs and a photograph of Sarasate holding his violin in playing position. In spite of the age of these recordings they undoubtedly give a very good idea of his style, which reminds me of that of Kubelík, Ysaye and Thibaut, all three of whom were renowned for the ingratiating sweetness of their tone and the phenomenal yet casual brilliance of their technique.

During the three years I spent at the University of Paris preparing a doctoral thesis on Richard Wagner⁹ I regularly took advantage of the reduced-price concert tickets which were available to students. Hardly a week passed without my hearing at least two violin recitals. I always noted the enthusiastic applause which followed compositions by Sarasate.

It was to learn more about Sarasate and his compositions that I decided to visit Pamplona during my sabbatical leave in the spring of 1953. I also hoped that in Madrid and possibly at Seville I should find material on Sarasate not available in the United States. After Pamplona I planned to visit Paris and to seek further documentation in the library of the Conservatoire and in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Arriving at Seville from Gibraltar on 12 February, I quickly discovered that the beautiful but at that time bitterly cold Andalusian capital was not the place in which one should expect to learn anything significant about Sarasate or, for that matter, any other musician. Surprisingly, I fared little better in Madrid where I came to the conclusion that for documentation I undoubtedly should have been better off in the Library of Congress. At least I should have been warm there.

One morning at the Academia Nacional de Música I managed to chat for a few minutes with its very busy director, the Rev. Federico Sopeña.¹⁰ When I hopefully mentioned my interest in Sarasate I noticed a look of slightly bored impatience on Father Sopeña's face. Sarasate, he somewhat condescendingly informed me, had written no significant compositions. Even his so-called Spanish dances were not truly Spanish because he had never really understood Spanish music. If I wished to study a Spanish musician I

⁹ 'Richard Wagner et le symbolisme français' (Presses Universitaires de France, 1931).

¹⁰ He is the brilliant author of several very stimulating books on modern musicians, one of which, 'Dos años de música en Europa' (Madrid, 1942), I was glad to have read.

should have done better, he averred, to turn my attention to Falla, Albéniz or Granados. He made no objection to my remark that more competent critics than I had already written quite extensively on these three composers, but when I attempted to return to the subject of Sarasate he categorically—I was almost going to say phalangistically—cut me short. After this wet-blanket treatment I decided that nowhere in Spain but at Pamplona should the dying embers of my enthusiasm have a chance to burst into flame again.

The following day I left Madrid at 2 p.m. in the little single-coach Auto Via train which provides the fastest service between Madrid and Pamplona. I had been told that the Auto Via trains were very modern, and as I followed my porter along the platform under the big glass roof of the Estación del Norte I rejoiced at the sight of a long, streamlined aluminium train standing on the track marked Pamplona. As I put my foot on the step of the first carriage we reached the porter shook his head and with the air of a tired, disgruntled father forbidding his trailing son to enter a candy shop, dropped one of my bags and impatiently pointed farther down the track. In the distance I now saw a small, squat carriage, bristling like some outlandish insect with the arms, shoulders and heads of passengers. Fortunately I had reserved a seat and was able to squash in beside a portly priest who was mopping the perspiration from his heavy jowls with a black cotton handkerchief.

When I arrived at Sarasate's birthplace at 10 p.m. an icy wind from the Pyrenees was blowing through the deserted streets and the wintry smell of the air seemed more Canadian than Spanish. Driving to the Hotel La Perla I chatted with the friendly driver, who pointed out Sarasate's monument and the tree-lined boulevard named El Paseo de Sarasate. The driver's remark that I should have come to Pamplona during the *Fiesta de San Fermín* was one which I heard many times during my visit there. Pamplona during its *Fiesta* was so dinned into me as an inexorable "tourist must" that I shall probably find myself there some hot July day watching from the safety of La Perla's balcony, as Sarasate used to do, the wild hilarity and near panic of the crowd in the Plaza de Castillo as it scatters before the charging droves of young bulls.

Thanks to the kind hospitality of several distinguished Pamplonese musicians, and particularly of Don José Antonio de Huarte, Don Miguel Echeveste and Don Pedro Turullols, my ten days at Pamplona were the high-light of my six months' European trip. It was through Don Pedro Turullols that I met the members of Pamplona's famous Agrupación Coral de Cámara and was initiated into the beauty of Basque singing.

Don José de Huarte, who in his youth toured extensively as a concert violinist, is the son of one of Sarasate's closest friends, Don Alberto de Huarte. I was delighted to find that Don José had in his possession most of Sarasate's original manuscripts. When I told him that I was interested in ascertaining what popular Spanish melodies Sarasate had used in the composition of his Spanish dances he assured me that if he could not identify them probably nobody else could. Actually, as I soon learnt when going through the manuscripts with Don Huarte, Sarasate continually mingled popular and folk melodies with his own, and sometimes it is next to impossible to say where the one begins and the other leaves off.

We worked in the Professor's studio which, in contrast with the other rooms he showed me in the large, dark apartment crammed like a museum of antiquities with relics of bygone days, was at least partially heated by a little wooden stove. From time to time we would interrupt our work on the manuscripts and the professor, taking his place at the grand piano which stood at one end of the room, would accompany me as I played on his very fine old violin.

The following melodic sources used by Sarasate are the only ones of which Professor de Huarte felt reasonably certain. The 'Caprice basque': the introduction is based on several motifs of the basque *zortzico* "Desde que nace el dia, hasta que muere el sol". The third theme of the 'Caprice Basque' is from the ancient *zortzico* 'Donostiyako iru damatxo' ('Tres señoritas de San Sebastián'). The duet 'Navarra' is an adaptation of the *gaitas* (flageolet melodies) traditionally played during the *Fiesta de San Fermín* at Pamplona. The 'Jota Aragonesa' contains a melody taken from a song to freedom by the Navarrese composer Brull. The first theme of the first 'Habanera (Op. 21)' is based on a song, "De la patria del cacao, del chocolate y del café" from Fernando Caballero's *zarzuela* 'La Gallina ciega'. The second 'Habanera' (Op. 26) shows (first theme) influence of the song "Yo me voy a Puerto Rico en un cascaron de nuez" and (second theme) of the *habanera* 'Nena mia' by Fernandez Caballero. The 'Zortzico basco' (Op. 37), "Adios montanas mias", is a Basque air, probably of the nineteenth century. 'Peteñeras' is a composition based on Andalusian melodies, Professor de Huarte thinks. 'Jota Navarra' contains motifs from 'El molinero de Subiza', a *zarzuela* by Oudrid and from the *jota* 'Viva Navarra' by Larregla. 'Spanish Dances' No. 11 (Fischer edition) is inspired by the song by Alvarez, 'La Partida', "Sierras de Granada, montes de Aragon".

Sarasate's other Spanish dances, 'Miramar (Zortzico)', Op. 42, 'Romanza Andaluza', Op. 22, 'Malagueña', Op. 21, and

'Zapateado', Op. 23, Professor de Huarte believes to be more completely original, although showing, of course, the general influence of Spanish traditional music.

It is natural that great romantic violinist-composers of the nineteenth century like Paganini, Wieniawski, Hubay and Sarasate should have used many popular songs, folksongs and folk dances in composing their violin pieces. The peculiar glory of the violin is that it is the singing instrument *par excellence*. Moreover, thanks to *pizzicato* and the various springing bowings it is capable of many pretty effects delightfully reminiscent of the guitar. Probably no violinist-composer ever used the *pizzicato* and *staccato* to simulate guitar or mandolin as effectively as did Sarasate. Paganini's *pizzicati* are usually purely violinistic. This is also true to some extent of Bazzini, although in his famous 'Ronde des lutins', for instance, the flying *staccati* and *pizzicati* are used with specific programmatic intent. Perhaps Wieniawski more nearly approaches Sarasate in the use of these technical devices, but he had an especial predilection for linked *staccati* used primarily for their decorative effect. Since Sarasate's time *pizzicato* and the springing bow have been used a great deal in violin arrangements of Spanish music. A good example of this is Kreisler's arrangement of the popular dance from Falla's 'La vide breve'.

Among Sarasate's Spanish dances, vying in popularity with his lively 'Zapateado', Op. 23, is the exquisite 'Malagueña', Op. 21. I should like to discuss this briefly and without going into too many technical details. As all students of Spanish music know, *malagueñas* are essentially Spanish gypsy music consisting of two component elements, song and dance. Sarasate's 'Malagueña' opens with a nostalgic melody in D major characterized by the typical descending triplets which lend such poignant sadness to even the gayest of such Spanish melodies. This melody which, on a register two octaves higher, concludes the piece, corresponds to the "song". After the first statement of this song comes a dance movement, *un poco lento*, of alternating right- and left-hand *pizzicati* interspersed with springing *staccati*. Typical of the *malagueña*, the accented beat is on the first note of each bar. This dance movement is followed by a variation passage in *legato* demisemiquavers of breathtaking beauty. Like the graceful flight of a bird, it comes to rest in a *ritardando* quadruplet of harmonic semiquavers. The first melody is taken up again, ending with another series of demisemiquaver runs which reach their climax on a trill high on the E string and a final *pizzicato* on the open D.

Borrowing a comparison from the words of a popular song, 'A Pretty Girl is like a Melody', one might say that Sarasate takes a gypsy

girl from a poor quarter of Málaga and presents her on the concert stage, richly gowned and sparkling with jewels. These jewels are, by the way, the technically most difficult passages, which some critics would no doubt scoffingly dismiss as violinistic pyrotechnics.

There would be little point here in describing or analysing other compositions among Sarasate's fifty-four works. That he was an unusually successful adapter for the violin of beautiful popular and folk melodies gives him a place, perhaps not sufficiently recognized, among the great nineteenth-century romantic composers, practically all of whom found their main source of melodic inspiration in the traditional songs and dances of European folk music. It is from this point of view that I shall now discuss Sarasate's historical significance.

* * *

One of the most important early phases in Sarasate's career was his winning over of the severest German critics to an appreciation of himself as a virtuoso and, by implication, of the French school of violin playing. By 1876 he was already famous in France, Spain, Belgium, England, the United States and Argentina. His Parisian friends suggested that it was time for him to accept the challenge of an offer made to him for a concert tour in Germany. If he could win recognition in the "country of music", they said, he would have established, without question, his world reputation. At the same time, by playing in Germany the compositions of French composers he would do a great service musically to France. At first Sarasate turned a deaf ear to these suggestions. He was too proud to submit himself to the biased judgment of those Prussians! However, the insistence of friends like Massenet and Diémer finally convinced him. He accepted the invitation of the Germans and departed for Berlin. Since at that stage of his career he did not have a regular accompanist but availed himself of the services of first-class pianists in the cities he visited, he was to be accompanied at his Berlin concert by the famous German pianist and composer Otto Neitzel.

It was only five years after the Franco-Prussian war and the traditional conceit of German musicians had been fanned by their country's military victory. Moreover, the memory of the ignominious reception given to Wagner's 'Tannhäuser' at the Paris Opéra in 1861 still rankled. The belief, fostered by anti-French critics, that nothing worthy of notice could be expected of the music or musicians of France had become general. Sarasate's first concert in Germany took place in a small Berlin auditorium before a select, extremely critical audience. Among those present were Hans von

Bülow, then director of the Berlin Philharmonic and ardent disciple of Wagner, the composer Wilhelm Langhans, Woldemar Bargiel, professor of the Berlin Conservatory of Music, and, already mentioned, the pianist-composer Neitzel. The attitude of the audience was both condescending and unfriendly. Sarasate, accustomed to enthusiastic receptions and thunderous applause, was at first intimidated. However, as he began to play—he had chosen as his opening number his friend Saint-Saëns's A major Concerto—his confidence returned. As soon as they hear me, he decided, they will change their minds. Alas, although he played with all his usual fire and technical mastery, the stern Teutons remained unmoved. Moreover, after the concert they completely ignored him. Although most of them could talk French quite well, they pretended ignorance of that language as an excuse for not speaking to him. Only Neitzel and Langhans paid him any compliment: their enthusiasm, in fact, knew no bounds.

The following day Sarasate, who read German with difficulty, eagerly scanned the newspapers. One article, the first he came upon, was moderately favourable; but the second, a long, critical essay in one of Berlin's leading dailies, stung him to anger by its condescending tone and its pointedly insulting panegyric of the art of the great violinists Joachim and Wilhelmj, who, the author averred, were the true artists of the violin. They alone were of a stature to interpret the classical works of the mighty German masters Bach, Mozart and Beethoven. Sarasate's fury was such that he was on the point of packing his bags and returning to Paris immediately. Only after much persuasion by Neitzel, who stressed the argument that his departure would be interpreted as a defeat for French music and musicians, did he finally decide to stay and persist in his effort to win over the German musical public. After several concerts whose success was but indifferent he at last won a great ovation in the famous Gewandhaus of Leipzig. From that time on his fame was secure in Germany, and as the years passed his annual German and Austrian tours became the artistic high-lights of his concert tours.

Not only did the Germans come to recognize Sarasate as a French violinist whose playing of the German classics left nothing to be desired; they also, thanks to him, began to appreciate the works of French composers like Saint-Saëns and Lalo, whose compositions for violin Sarasate made known throughout Germany and Austria. Later, when he had composed his Spanish dances, these were among the most called-for pieces of his German repertory, and German and Austrian violinists who played them were assured of their enthusiastic reception.

It is a well-known fact that composers are usually diffident about admitting that they have received help with the composition of their works. It is thus particularly interesting that Saint-Saëns admitted the assistance he had received from Sarasate. In an article of the 'Revista Sarasate' (a publication of the Pamplona Orfeón Society) for 1 July 1908 Joaquín Larregla quotes the following lines from a letter Saint-Saëns had written to him:

I wrote for him [Sarasate], at his request, the A major Concerto, to which is given, I don't quite know why, the name *Konzertstück*. Then I wrote for him the 'Rondo capriccioso' in the Spanish style and later the B minor Concerto, for which he gave me valuable advice to which is due, certainly to some extent, the considerable success of this piece.

Further in this same letter Saint-Saëns stated that:

In circulating my compositions throughout the world on his magic bow, Pablo de Sarasate rendered me the highest of services.

The case of Édouard Lalo is similar in this respect to that of Saint-Saëns. Like the latter he was a close friend of Sarasate. Moreover, as he was of Spanish descent and had a pronounced Iberian love of rhythmic and melodic brilliance, his musical taste, like that of Sarasate, was Latin and exotic. Although as far as I have been able to ascertain Lalo never put his debt to Sarasate in writing, it is taken for granted by such competent authorities as Georges Servières in his biography of Lalo and Gilbert Chase in his volume 'The Music of Spain'. Discussing Lalo's 'Symphonie espagnole' Chase says that at one time Rimsky-Korsakov thought of writing his 'Capriccio espagnol' in the form of a fantasy for violin and orchestra, but, he adds:

It is just as well that Rimsky-Korsakov did not carry out his original intention—because in that case he would have had to compete with Lalo's 'Symphonie espagnole', one of the most effective works in the entire violinistic repertoire. Lalo had Spanish blood in his veins (though he was born at Bordeaux), and writing his 'Symphonie espagnole' he profited moreover from the help and advice of Sarasate, who gave the first performance of the work at Paris on February 7, 1875.

Quite possibly Sarasate even suggested to Lalo the beautiful Spanish melodies so effectively used in the 'Symphonie espagnole'. However, Servières has nothing to say about this whereas, in speaking of Lalo's 'Rhapsodie norvégienne', first conceived as a sort of counterpart to the 'Symphonie espagnole', he remarks that its themes had been given to Lalo by Sarasate, who had brought them back from Norway following a concert tour in the Scandinavian countries. Whether or not this was the case is probably of slight importance. Themes used by Lalo in the 'Symphonie espagnole',

as I have personally ascertained, are remarkably similar to tunes to be found in collections of Spanish traditional melodies. For instance, several themes of the 'Symphonie espagnole', and notably of the second movement, *Scherzando*, could easily have been suggested to Lalo by *cantos populares* such as those found in the well-known collection of 'Cantos populares' by Isidoro Hernández, especially the tenth group of *cantos*, entitled 'Cantos populares gallegos'. Gilbert Chase follows José Altadill and others when he states:

Sarasate is also reputed to have had a hand in the composition of Bruch's second violin Concerto, 'Schottische Fantasie', and Mackenzie's 'Pibroch Suite'.

Speaking about Sarasate's original compositions Chase writes:

As a composer, Sarasate wrote with extreme effectiveness for his instrument, and he was, moreover, one of those who contributed most efficaciously to popularizing "the Spanish idiom" abroad, sharing honors with Albéniz in this respect. His numerous Spanish Dances (both for violin alone and with piano) will long remain in the violinistic repertoire, for they are full of color and charm, as well as of technical brilliance.

Until the year 1860, approximately, the ignorance and indifference of the Parisian public in musical matters was proverbial. When in January of that year Pasdeloup inaugurated his Concerts Populaires, they marked a turning-point in French musical history. In a Parisian newspaper cutting of that period, which I came upon in a folder of Sarasate papers in the Museo Sarasate at Pamplona, the author quotes Pasdeloup as having remarked to Sarasate that he counted on him to help in awakening the public to the worth of French instrumental music. This is particularly significant when one takes into account that French music of the first half of the nineteenth century was almost entirely dominated by opera and the song recital.

It is worth noting that to an extent perhaps not easily appreciated to-day Sarasate's glamour as a supreme virtuoso was very influential in attracting the attention of the Parisian musical public to the works of the French composers he played. In those days an even larger part of a concert audience than is the case to-day was more interested in the artist as a virtuoso than in the music he performed. Indeed, according to the virtuoso tradition illustrated by such great names as Paganini, Liszt and Chopin, it had been expected of the virtuoso that he should play his own compositions almost exclusively. Germany had already broken away more than other countries from that tradition, and this was one of the main reasons for the difficulty Sarasate had experienced in establishing his fame in that country.

We have seen how Sarasate was associated with Saint-Saëns and

Lalo, both of whom were important figures in the Société Nationale des Musiciens Français founded by the former and Romain Bussine in 1871. It is a fact, sometimes overlooked, that it was to the musicians of this society that French music owed its liberation from the obsession of German superiority. Although the neo-classicism of a César Franck and a Saint-Saëns did not escape a tinge of Wagnerism, in the main it represented a reassertion of the traditional French belief in form, simplicity and clarity.

* * *

Since, as is commonly recognized, French folk music played a relatively small part in the inspiring of French nineteenth-century composers, it is not surprising that they found much of their inspiration in the exotic.

One thing clearly stands out, and that is the predominance of the exotic inspiration provided by Spain. Indeed, this is so evident as hardly to need demonstration. A glance at a list of famous French compositions since 1870 should suffice: Chabrier's 'España', Bizet's 'Carmen', Lalo's 'Symphonie espagnole', Saint-Saëns's 'Rondo capriccioso' and 'Danses espagnoles', Debussy's 'Iberia' and 'La Soirée dans Grenade', Ravel's 'L'Heure espagnole', 'Rapsodie espagnole' and 'Bolero', to name only the best-known.

To anyone who has given much attention to the relationship between music and literature I believe it should be evident that, in spite of the give and take between these two arts, music has more often followed the suggestion of literature than *vice versa*. With opera, of course, this is almost foreordained. Even Wagner, though he said that he would like to think of his music dramas as "the acts of music become visible"¹¹, nevertheless wrote the libretto of his 'Ring' long before he composed the music. Obviously, in less programmatic and more abstract music, as in symbolist poetry, this order is not so clear.¹²

Tracing the Spanish suggestion or influence in French literature one finds, as might be expected, that it follows much the same evolutionary pattern as does music. Corresponding to the obvious, popular hispanicism of Lalo and Bizet is that of Hugo in works like 'Hernani' and 'Ruy Blas', of Mérimée in his novel 'Carmen', of Gautier in his 'Voyage d'Espagne'. Later the subtler, more profound hispanicism of Debussy and Ravel is paralleled by the poet Albert Samain's 'Au Jardin de l'Infante', Maurice Barrès's sensitive and thoughtful description of Toledo in 'Tolède', etc.

¹¹ "die ersichtlich gewordenen Taten der Musik", Coll. Writings, Vol. IX, 'Über die Benennung Musik Drama'.

¹² Mallarmé often thought of his poems as an attempt to express music's suggestion in words.

As we have seen, Saint-Saëns, Lalo, Bizet and Sarasate represented a popular and somewhat superficial Hispanicism. In order to evaluate Sarasate's historical significance one must understand the nature and historical function of this Hispanicism. When Nietzsche turned against his former idol Richard Wagner and published his famous pamphlet 'The Wagner Case' (1876), he wrote an article after hearing a performance of Bizet's 'Carmen' in which he says that the Mediterranean clarity of this essentially Latin music was a revelation to him. The heavy clouds of Wagner's "decadent" music were suddenly torn apart and he found himself basking in the joyful, golden sunshine of this light-hearted and passionate Spanish music. Realizing how far he had strayed from simple, wholesome musical beauty, he turned the full battery of his critical artillery on Wagner and all that he stood for. The "melodic poverty" of Wagner's music dramas was symptomatic of its fundamental decadence. Nothing in Wagner was clear, clean, simple and noble. His music was a cloying, aphrodisiac welter of sound, a deleterious bath for the nerves of jaded *Untermenschen*. Essentially pretentious and vulgar, it was heavily soaked in the spirit of petty bourgeois charlatanism.

The personal bias and vehement exaggerations of Nietzsche's article were, unfortunately, so patent that it was dismissed with a smile by competent critics. Nevertheless, it contained more than a grain of truth. Coming from an artistic, intellectual genius of Nietzsche's stature its importance cannot easily be denied. If one is ideologically and sentimentally disposed to agree, at least in part, with Nietzsche and with another denouncer of decadence in modern art, literature and music, Max Nordau, then it is probable that one will be sympathetic towards popular, less sophisticated works.

Since the days of Sarasate, Saint-Saëns and Lalo, not only have Spanish composers like Albéniz and Falla more adequately interpreted the Spanish soul, but similarly French composers like Debussy, Ravel and Aubert have shown a more profound intuition of this soul. In analysing the reasons why, he thinks, the traditional music of Spain made a strong appeal to Debussy, Gilbert Chase expresses himself in a way that suggests interesting psychological implications¹³:

There were many reasons why the traditional music of Spain made a strong appeal to him, apart from his innate love of the exotic. The survival of the medieval modes, the lack of isometric regularity in the melodies, the shifting and conflicting rhythms, the unorthodox harmonization, with its frequent recourse to consecutive fourths and fifths, the strong contrasts of mood—all these were in line with his own creative instincts.

¹³ 'The Music of Spain' (New York, 1941).

This list of the characteristics of Spanish music which appealed to Debussy reads like the perfect recipe for a strictly "modern" musical composition. It indicates the inspirational happy hunting-ground which Spain and Spanish music became for many modern composers. At the same time it suggests that already with Debussy Nietzsche's far too simple assumption that Spanish music was synonymous with anti-decadent gaiety, light and form was open to many critical reservations. Falla, Albéniz, Debussy and Ravel looked at the Spanish soul and at the techniques of Spanish traditional music through much stronger lenses than did Sarasate, Saint-Saëns and Lalo. And indeed, if one thoughtfully compares the techniques of this traditional music with the subtle, profound psychological undercurrents of the Spanish soul curious parallels begin to emerge.

What are some of these psychological undercurrents of the Spanish soul which only "modern" musicians have been able to express? I should say the mystic and paradoxical, the grotesque, the satanic and the insane. To illustrate, one need only evoke the works of Saint Teresa, Cervantes, Calderón and Góngora in literature, of El Greco and Goya (who sketched those terrifying hallucinations of the Napoleonic war), Picasso and Dali in art, and finally two Spanish institutions, one of which is still very much alive: the Inquisition and the bullfight.

I should like to make one last analogy. Probably the musical critic who glibly states that Sarasate was not a great artist would deal just as harshly in the field of literature with the great popular novelist Vincente Blasco-Ibañez. Although obviously any parallel drawn between these two artists must be severely limited, what can be said is, I believe, important. Both Sarasate and Ibañez spent many years in France and were profoundly influenced by the liberal, cosmopolitan atmosphere of Paris. Both had the proud, essentially masculine nature of the typical Spaniard, and both denounced what they termed the barbarous backwardness of some aspects of Spanish life and culture. While on a vastly different plane, their art, untarnished by decadent, self-conscious, intellectual morbidity, expressed in the idiom of Spain the noble and the eternal.

In Sarasate, haughty violin virtuoso of Pamplona, there was something of the spirit of the Spanish *conquistador*. But his conquests were in the realm of music, his sword a slender violin bow. In 1953 in the cathedral of Saragossa, as I stood gazing at the jewels, the silver and gold *objets d'art* of the cathedral treasury, the guide pointed out Sarasate's bow, upright against a golden chalice. How appropriate that this graceful bow should have come to its long rest among the beautiful tokens of adoration in this sanctuary of La Virgen del Pilar!

BRUCKNER AND BRAHMS QUINTETS IN F

BY HANS F. REDLICH

THE string Quintet in F major is usually called Bruckner's only contribution to chamber music. This is historically inaccurate, for the Quintet had a modest forerunner in a string Quartet in C minor, which has come to light only quite recently.¹ However, the Quintet remains the only mature composition of Bruckner's to challenge Brahms in the domain of his own undisputed supremacy. With the third Symphony (second version, 1877-78) it belongs to the first major works by Bruckner to be published at all and thus to reach a wider public than any of his earlier compositions.

The composition of the Quintet was suggested to Bruckner in 1878 by Joseph Hellmesberger, sen., then director of the Vienna Conservatory, to which Bruckner had been appointed ten years earlier. Hellmesberger wanted new music for his excellent quartet, which had by that time been in existence for nearly thirty years. Bruckner seems to have been unwilling or unable to write a string quartet, perhaps because he instinctively felt the need for a medium allowing for a more ample polyphony suited to his particular instrumental style. Yet it is a gross exaggeration to call this work, as has so often been done, a symphony in disguise. Much rather is it a genuine attempt on Bruckner's part to adjust his symphonic style to the requirements of this, to him, uncongenial medium. This is borne out by a comparison of its four movements with the types of movement found in his symphonies.

The first movement of the Quintet (*Gemässigt = Moderato*) bears the time-signature of 3-4, a very unusual one for an initial movement in any instrumental work by Bruckner, whose symphonies invariably begin in common time or *alla breve*. His choice of this unaccustomed metre is a sure indication of a deliberate change in style, and so is the use of fugal technique for the third episode of the finale (*f.* Eulenburg miniature score, p. 60, bar 5 ff.). The happiest balance, surely, is struck in the serenely beautiful *Adagio*, one of Bruckner's supreme inspirations.² Here for once he manages to fuse the seraphic

¹It was composed in 1862, most probably while Bruckner was studying composition in general and the handling of sonata form in particular with Otto Kitzler. It received its first (posthumous) performance in 1951 at Hamburg. Since then it has been heard at several Bruckner festivals in Germany, but no score has been issued as yet.

²This is the third movement in the Eulenburg score, but in the autograph it takes second place, and it was made to change places with the scherzo in the course of the revisions to which the Quintet was subjected. Robert Haas ('Anton Bruckner', Potsdam, 1934, p. 136 ff.) shows that the work was repeatedly revised up to 1884 and that the score published that year differs in many instances from the autograph. A revision of this published score, based on a collation with the autograph by J. von Woess, was issued by Universal Edition in Vienna in 1922 (1927).

style of his "Benedictus" movements in the Masses with limpid part-writing for a string combination. To be sure, the grandeur of conception that produced this movement, which is for the most part dynamically subdued, is found to overreach itself at the *fff* climax (min. score, p. 46, bar 6), which certainly exceeds the limits of sonority imposed on chamber music and cries out for translation into majestic orchestral sound. A passage such as this only too clearly indicates that Bruckner was incapable of keeping for long within the boundaries of this restricted medium without chafing at its restraints. The scherzo also shows this: it keeps one wondering whether Bruckner would not have been wiser to score the Quintet with two cellos (following the precedent of Schubert) rather than with two violas (on the model of Mozart). This ferocious and dissonant scherzo, one of Bruckner's least ingratiating middle movements, indisputably shows an element of strain. The ascending scale for the solitary cello (bars 1-8) is hardly capable of counter-balancing the finicking part-writing in the upper strings. Small wonder, then, that this movement should have proved a temporary stumbling-block for Hellmesberger, who went so far as to suggest its elimination and replacement by an 'Intermezzo' in the same key of D minor, composed later and more restrained and *Ländler*-like in character.³ This piece, however, was in the end discarded in favour of the original scherzo. There is no question but that passages such as the 8-bar pedal point on D \flat , as well as the 16-bar pedal on the same note at the opening of the finale (with its curiously elusive association with the Beckmesser motifs in 'Die Meistersinger') would be greatly improved by an orchestral setting.

Such deliberations unquestionably give the measure of Bruckner's comparative failure to provide the medium of the string quintet with a really satisfactory work of intimate sonorities. These shortcomings are, however, offset by his undeniable originality in tackling the problem of "extended tonality" in this chamber work. Discussing the work on the occasion of its (incomplete) first performance in Vienna (1881), the critic Ludwig Speidel referred to its "Odyssey of keys" (*Tonarten-Odyssee*). Thus was Bruckner's original conception of progressive tonality announced to a musical world which still found the greatest difficulty in appreciating Wagner's and Liszt's revolutionary harmony. Actually Bruckner's attempt to widen the ambit of tonality in this work, as in his later symphonies, is seen to-day as the logical outcome of Beethoven's and Schubert's experiments in that direction and as the creative realization of

³It was posthumously performed for the first time in 1904 and not published by Universal Edition until 1913.

Bruckner's teacher Simon Sechter's little-known, Rameau-inspired theory of interdominants.⁴

An investigation into the problems of tonality as presented by Bruckner's Quintet may prove his importance as an evolutionary link between the Viennese classics and the musical concepts of the twentieth century. Although the first movement starts in apparently orthodox F major, the very first bar of its principal subject already contains an element of extended tonality, here confined to a passing intrusion of the chord of D \flat on the third beat of bar 1. D \flat here represents the chord of the Neapolitan sixth as related to C major:



This chord, with its propensity to enharmonic camouflage and with its "Neapolitan" tendency towards distant flat keys, becomes the chief determinant of the Quintet's general plan of modulation. Undoubtedly "x" alone is responsible for the unusual fact that the second subject (Bruckner's *Gesangsperiode*) is based on the key of the sharpened tonic, *i.e.* on F \sharp major. Enharmonically changed, that key turns into G \flat , the "Neapolitan" flattened supertonic of the principal tonic, F major.

Bruckner uses F \sharp major (the subdominant of "x", once its D \flat tonality has been enharmonically exchanged to C \sharp major) as a modulatory swing-door opening with equal ease in opposite directions:



In the first movement Bruckner is evidently intent on focusing attention chiefly on the sharp side of keys. Thus the second subject, on its reappearance in the recapitulation, is transposed into the subdominant of F \sharp , *i.e.* into B major (*cf.* Eulenburg score, p. 27, bars 4 ff.). The latter key is, as it were, a "cousin twice removed" (in the circle of fifths) from "x", when enharmonically exchanged to C \sharp . These logistics of a modulatory scheme, regulated not by the traditional prerogative of dominant and subdominant, but exclusively by the latter's substitute—the Neapolitan chord and its "satellites"—are successfully continued in the second movement

⁴ This useful English word for the German *Zwischendominanten* has been introduced by Gerald Abraham.

(*Adagio*)⁵, only this time moving in the opposite direction of flat keys.

The *Adagio* is in the flat supertonic itself (G \flat major), *i.e.* in the key of the subsidiary subject of movement I, enharmonically changed, a procedure still considered a breach of tradition in the 1880s when applied to sonata form. Viewing the movement as a whole, one might say that it was conceived by Bruckner as one single extended Neapolitan complex.⁶

The third (later second) movement, the scherzo, is in D minor, the relative minor of F major, and modulates frequently into the distant sharp keys of A and E major (min. score, pp. 29-30 and p. 31, bar 7 ff.). The scherzo proper ends in D major and is followed by a trio (*langsamer*) in E \flat major that must have baffled the critical pundits of 1881. Yet, again, this key is nothing but the Neapolitan sixth of D, and the whole trio is therefore merely a cadential parenthesis between the main section of the scherzo and its repeat. The finale, which in the published version of the Quintet follows the *Adagio* in G \flat , whereas in the autograph it came after the D major conclusion of the scherzo, is ostensibly in F minor, but reaches that key only after a devious excursion into dependencies of G \flat , thus continuing logically in its key-tendencies where the G \flat major *Adagio* left off. Its very first bar, with its bustling Beckmesserish motif in the second viola, is based on the chord of the ninth, leading back to G \flat . In bar 13 G \flat is touched in passing, only to be jockeyed into a position where it becomes usable as a cadential starting-point for steering back into the home tonic of F. This engaging situation is illustrated by the false relations between the first violin and second viola (G \flat against G \natural) which illuminate the change of tempo in bars 16-17 (*im Tempo etwas nachgebend*). Bar 17 contains an implicit dominant preparation for F minor, but that key is arrived at only in the *pizzicato* passage (min. score, p. 56, bars 4-5). The sudden *volte-face* of harmony in these two bars shows, as in a nutshell, the gist of Bruckner's modulatory innovations:



⁵It changed places with the scherzo later on (see footnote 2). The tempo indication in the unrevised autograph is *Andante quasi allegretto* (*cf.* Haas, *op. cit.* p. 136).

⁶The Neapolitan cadence always retained its attraction for him. *Cf.* the chorale in the finale of his fifth Symphony.

D \flat in the first bar is exchanged for A \sharp in the second, an enharmonic transformation of the B \flat on that bar's first beat, and this A \sharp is related to the new key of E major as the leading-note of its dominant. That new key itself, of course, is only a notational disguise for F \flat major in this case and may thus be considered as the Neapolitan sixth of the E \flat major of the trio section in the scherzo. This seemingly startling E major (=F \flat major) is thus a "cousin twice removed" of the tonic F, and the relationship is consciously though tenuously established. The whole *cantabile* subject (for which Bruckner's own favourite term was *Gesangsperiode*) is composed in this parenthetical key of E \sharp (=F \flat), and only the third group of themes, based on the *fugato* subject (min. score, p. 60, bar 5 ff) is on the dominant of F minor. The home tonic of F major is finally reached at the recapitulation of the first group, extending into a *fortissimo* coda (min. score, p. 70).

It seems not at all unlikely that Brahms received the initial stimulus for his own first string Quintet, Op. 88, in F major, from Bruckner's work and from its partial failure to come to terms with the peculiarities of its medium. Brahms knew Bruckner's Quintet well enough, as we know from his letter to Elisabet von Herzogenberg dated 12 January 1885 and expressly referring to the published score. This had appeared in 1884, and the first complete performances of the work by the Hellmesberger team had taken place on 8 January 1885. Brahms's letter was thus written very shortly after that successful event. That Brahms may even have attended that very performance may be gathered from a characteristic postscript in Elisabet's reply, dated 13 February 1885, in which she asked him with a delightful mixture of malice and ingenuousness: "Has Bruckner's Quintet really had such a success?"⁷

A comparison of the two string Quintets, composed in close succession, shows striking parallels which may be more than accidental. Here are their dates in tabulated form:

BRUCKNER	BRAHMS
String Quintet, F major, composed between December 1878 and 12 July 1879.	String Quintet, F major, Op. 88, composed spring 1882.
'Intermezzo' composed December 1879.	First performance Frankfort o.M. 29 December 1882.
First performances: Vienna, 17 November 1881 (without the finale and with the original scherzo); Vienna, 8 January 1885 (complete).	Published 1883 by Simrock of Bonn.
Score published 1884 by A. J. Gutmann of Vienna.	

⁷ 'Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Heinrich und Elisabet von Herzogenberg', ed. by Max Kalbeck (Berlin, 1907), Vol. II, pp. 53 and 58.

The first performance of Bruckner's work was organized by the Wagner-Verein and was therefore, strictly speaking, not a public performance. Brahms's work, which after its first performance was praised even by Hugo Wolf, must have become well known to the circles of the Wagner-Verein and of Bruckner's disciples. Both works are in the key of F major, and both introduce the rare device of sectional fugal technique into their last movements. To the *fugato* in the finale of Bruckner's Quintet (min. score, p. 60, bar 5 ff) the fugal section in Brahms's (*cf.* Simrock miniature score, p. 29, *allegro moderato*), with its probably deliberate allusion to the fugal finale of Beethoven's third Rasumovsky Quartet (Op. 59 No. 3), forms an arresting parallel. Brahms's first movement, although vigorously scored, never oversteps the boundaries of chamber music and creates a delightful contrast by its A major section (unrelated key, *pizzicato* effects, rhythmic complexities produced by the triplet character of the *cantabile* group); and, compared with it, Bruckner's first movement is conspicuously lacking in contrast, despite the improvising solo passages for each instrument at the beginning of its development section. Again, Brahms scores over Bruckner by the ingenuity with which he solves the problem of the middle movements. In order to achieve variety in sound in his restricted medium he introduces a lightweight, ambivalent movement, with a slow section in C \sharp minor set off by a dance-like *siciliano* in 6-8 in gay A major. This movement, with its constant change of mood and key, prepares for the muscular effort of the fugal finale. Still, for all its loveliness, that middle movement is a little in the nature of patchwork. The slow C \sharp minor section is nothing but a transposed arrangement of Brahms's old 'Saraband' No. 1 for piano solo, written as far back as 1855 and only posthumously published in 1917. The *siciliano* is deliberately archaic in its melody and harmonic trend. Bruckner's climactic movement, on the other hand, is the *Adagio*, which for sheer beauty of melody easily beats Brahms's two-faced, artificial middle movement. The incompatibility of temperament as well as of genius between these two great contemporaries could not be more clearly displayed or more profitably studied than it is by a comparison of their almost contemporaneous string Quintets in F major.

THE RECOGNITION OF THE SUBLIME

BY VICTOR BENNETT

A LONG while ago, in a journal which I used to keep for what I hoped were important observations, I noted that in listening to music there were three phases of æsthetic pleasure. The first phase was the familiar one of sensing significance or beauty, or both, in a composition. Here one simply took delight in the work as it stood and for itself. The second and higher experience began with a sort of affectionate curiosity that took one behind the work heard into the spirit of the man who made it. This happened when, on listening to a particular work of a master, one saw, as it were, through that work into the composer's inner world. To a greater extent this called upon musical knowledge and experience, for it could hardly happen if a good many works by the same composer were not already known. If, for example, Mozart had left behind him nothing but one string quartet, one could hardly attain, from hearing this, to an experience of intimacy with the man behind the music. It would be because, while listening to a single string quartet, one was aware, bordering the experience, of a penumbra of recollections of his other work, vocal, instrumental and symphonic, that one was privileged at favourable moments to penetrate beyond it all into a kind of beatific vision of the whole world of the composer's imagination. This experience was the more likely to occur if the composer's art was a developing one and his work divisible into periods. When listening to a late work by Beethoven, we subconsciously made a reference back to the works of his middle and early periods. If this reference had been made articulate, we might have heard ourselves saying, "The man who did that is now doing this", and, if on this occasion we attained to the second phase of æsthetic experience, we gathered up all Beethoven's essential work behind us to find revealed in one final composition the spirit of the man himself. At such a moment it seemed that even the greatest of his works was only a dependent example of a significance or beauty that dwelt more perfectly in the composer's mind.

To have known such an experience was to have advanced certain steps along the path of musical mysticism; yet, without claiming the status of a guru, the listener might attain to a third phase of experience. In the presence of certain supreme movements one might be caught up farther than ever into an ecstasy in which the

significance or beauty revealed overwhelmed one's capacity to realize it, in which the empire of one's knowledge and experience of music was devoured, leaving one numb as to the particular work or as to the particular composer, and conscious only of a great gladness and a dumb gratitude to the ultimate power that made such things possible. In this experience, depending more and more upon factors governing one's own receptiveness, rare, and probably destined to become rarer with advancing years, it seemed that one had pierced the music and even pierced the composer, penetrating beyond into a force to which religion and philosophy have given various names and descriptions but which, for the purposes of æsthetic discussion, could be styled the spirit of creation and described as the ultimate power by which the artist is inspired.

In making this note I had, without knowing it at the time, taken a stroll across territory whereon such giants as Burke and Kant had left their memorials and which was the ground of one of the most celebrated essays on æsthetics in antiquity: I refer to Longinus on the Sublime.

If my definition of the sublime was not identical with that of any one of these doctors, I at least partook with them in recognizing that the highest art can afford an experience so excruciating as to mark it off decisively from other æsthetic experience. So decisively was it marked off for Burke that he saw the sublime as manifesting the terrible rather than the beautiful. Kant distinguished it from the beautiful in that it affected the intellect more than the senses. Nevertheless most subsequent writers prefer to think that the sublime, though unique in its quality, is in some way an extension of the beautiful.

Its two classical characteristics are, firstly, that it is exciting to a rare degree and, secondly, that it baffles. The enthusiasm it provokes is teased by a sense of strain and perplexity. In this experience that which flashes forth as a revelation remains to tantalize as a mystery, and the awareness that is first flooded with pleasure is then cheated by the imponderable. These characteristics may be combined under the name of plenitude. The sublime embodies a fulness of significance or beauty that, while conveying to the mind and the sense an inordinate richness, embarrasses both by its overbearing quality. To say that the sublime possesses a plenary significance is to say that it manages to express not this or that particular thing, but that it dares to approach the wholeness of what is expressible, the nature of all existence.

Thus sublimity is not strictly a nobility of sentiment or merely a very beautiful thing. It is distinguished from all partial aspects,

all half-truths, all expressions which are only true in relation to particular circumstances. In its ideal form it is universal reality, the essence of all meaning, the identification of being and expression, of living and thinking. No art, perhaps, can capture the sublime in the acute form provided for by this definition, but it can be approached, and by music with notable success, by all the arts in their several ways. Though even in music we may speak only in an approximate way of instances of the sublime, it is true that sublimity lies at the northern frontier of every art.

The buoyancy of music is a quality that can hardly escape the attention of anyone who seriously considers the nature of this art. While music consents to illustrate the factual and the concrete only with a certain reluctance and imprecision, it touches upon intangible realities such as the interior emotions and conflicts with a sureness that is unique among modes of expression. Pater was commenting upon this when he said that all the arts aspire to the condition of music. While visual and literary art has its ground in the data of everyday things and ascends arduously into the atmosphere of impalpable ideas, music starts out with a generality of expression and finds the descent into the particulars of life more exacting. This is not entirely a virtue, for the broad statements of music that so easily escape the ground of material fact are for that reason difficult to classify, and a tantalizing quality has to be balanced against its undoubted power to lift the imagination. To note this quality of buoyancy is to note also that music has a natural tendency to move towards that universal utterance which we call the sublime, and other arts, in so far as they are employed in the same direction, must follow, as they can, in the way of music. Thus it follows that music is of paramount importance to a consideration of the manifestation of the sublime, because it begins with a natural advantage in that respect.

It may then be asked when and how music achieves this singular effect. While nothing in the nature of a formula or recipe can be given, it is possible to discuss the circumstances in which, through harmony of sound, instances of the sublime have been known to occur.

The essence of music is motion expressed through an ascending and descending order of established notes, and this musical motion approaches sublimity when it imitates not a particular kind of motion, fast or slow, wayward or characterized in some manner, but when it imitates a general wave of motion, motion at the mean, the very gait of life as it ordinarily proceeds. At such a point music is emptied of its dramatic propensity and of its usual dialectical

character. It is as though the fulness and peace that come with the cadence had flooded the composition throughout its entire course. The significance of such a work is not the significance of any kind of passion, but of passion itself, moderate and many-sided, as it is continually realized in the mere experience of living. If it expresses some physical movement, it is not a particular movement but the race of time and events in all their generality. If it expresses an act of will, the act in question is no more and no less than the will to live and to provoke experience. Yet further, sublimity begins to excel these three headings we have adopted and to express, or, as must be said of a perfect sublimity, to fulfil the motion common to all three, the staple motion by which all existence is nourished. Here is discovered a universal motion so constant in its action that there is no room for the reflection of any peculiarity.

The music of Bach provides a rich field for the location of the sublime achieved in this way. It illustrates too how the most exalted musical effect is consistent with the utmost modesty of spirit on the part of the composer. The modesty of Bach's music is the more to be prized since it is a quality of composition that has steadily diminished since his day and in the twentieth century has become almost extinct. An instance of Bach's unpretentious essays in the sublime is the third Brandenburg Concerto. This great wind of music spells everything and nothing. It contains no drama and no passion, save the drama of being alive and the passion of joy in drawing breath. It is not a type of expression but expression itself, "whole as the marble, founded as the rock, as broad and general as the casing air". Or something even more modest and more sublime may be found in the first prelude of the "48". It is true that it has become difficult to hear the opening bars of this prelude without anticipating the annihilating supervention of Gounod's 'Ave Maria', but if this juncture can be averted, we are left with one of the purest recitations of musical action it is possible to conceive. This is the motion and the music of existence in its abstracted form, and if the stars in their courses really generate harmonious vibrations, surely they do so in a manner like to this. Yet some will object that examples such as these are too distinguished in themselves to belong to a phase of art wherein all distinctions are abolished. They will seek the sublime in an older style, back beyond Vivaldi and Purcell, though their claims are strong, and will find it as near perfect as possible in the domestic instrumental music of the seventeenth century. In these compositions, hardly known and almost anonymous, there is the absence of pretence, the unconscious humour of innocence, the very monotony of pure

consents, that lap them in to a sublimity still unequalled after the great ones of a later date have thundered their valedictions at us.

In such pieces the composer hardly aimed to provide a message or was so unacquainted with the means to do so that he achieved the sublime without conscious effort or intention. The reading of the music which the listener cares to make counts for much, for it is at his disposal to dismiss it as unimportant or to find in its progressions the unfolding of the infinite. A well-disposed listener may indeed discover the sublime in unexpected circumstances. For example, he may obtain a staggering vision of the sublime by hearing a child dawdling over her "best piece" in the next room. Those bare, hesitating intervals, so scuttled over in a proper performance, so unconsidered by the virtuoso in his haste, when found by small, creeping fingers can suddenly gleam with all their elemental purity and embrace a significance that spans the heavens. But such a vision is, of course, elusive. A slight disturbance of the favourable mood and the playing once more will seem laborious.

Among the more calculated techniques for achieving the sublime, besides the technique of a universal motion, already noted, there is also the technique of suppressed motion. The essence of music is motion, but that motion may be so reduced in pace and scope that something like stillness is reached. This is not a complete formula, but it is an indication of one set of circumstances in which the sublime may be manifested. When music begins to approach, as though in its own despite, a condition of stillness, through slowness, paucity of rhythm and conjunctive motion, it begins also to concentrate into what action remains the potentiality of what is freely exercised elsewhere, and it is this ulterior fund of significance behind some slow procession of adjacent notes that gives to a passage that might else seem ordinary that sense of plenitude characteristic of the sublime. To an insensitive listener that underlying tension might be missed and the movement appear as commonplace. For this reason the astute composer, after beginning with some such procedure, leads his music towards a climax and eventually produces a phrase so striking that the slackest listener becomes aware that the composer must have been deeply in earnest even from the start when he appeared taciturn. An instance of this may be taken from Brahms, a composer inferior to Bach, perhaps, yet one who was lured by the sublime as a born climber is lured by the mountains. By itself the orchestral introduction to the slow movement of his early pianoforte Concerto might seem, by reason of its flat rhythm and approximate immobility, to be uninteresting, for its underlying power is not revealed until the solo part enters and, by a

retrospective flash of illumination, sketches out and particularizes the theme which hitherto has been scarcely felt. In this way a deceptive immobility, in which everything is for the time being locked up, is conducive to the sublime, but on account of our dull receptiveness there is needed also that awakening phrase to remind us in what presence we stand. In this respect Brahms is willing to make us understand exactly where we are, but it is not so with every composer. To our sensibility, influenced by nineteenth-century practice, Handel sometimes seems to be creating opportunities to underline the emotional content of his music, only to pass them by. The slow movements of Brahms leave behind them the memory of a moment of breathless suspense that is not to be repeated. Thenceforward the themes must be worked out, and in the way are many incidental beauties to be discovered, but from the eminence where the landscape of the sublime has been sighted the music travels a downward track.

There remain some instances of the sublime to which not even the most tentative formula may be attached. The present writer finds such instances in Beethoven's ninth Symphony, the scherzo in particular, in Schubert's ninth Symphony, again the scherzo in particular, and in the slow movement of the same master's string Quintet in C. In such works one is overpowered by a kind of beauty that, in the phrase of Keats, "surprises by a fine excess". They lead us to revise what we understand by the idea of beauty, for we find that we are astonished that anything could be as beautiful as this. They awaken a wonder that sends us back to our first intuitions of experience, a wonder, to borrow again, this time from Baudelaire, "bleu, clair et profond, comme la virginité". In this recovery of wonder we seem to be intimate spectators of what some of the scientists are teaching us to call "continuous creation". We seem to observe events without causation, forms emerging out of nothing, and this is being accomplished with an absence of friction and effort that is exhilarating in the highest degree. In such instances music becomes to us a mimicry of the processes of creation, for it shows us how easily everything can be made out of nothing. The sense of wonder thus aroused is not conducive to an analysis of how the composer is able to raise his art to such a pitch, and perhaps such a knowledge would not be an adequate exchange for the aesthetic experience it might spoil, but, in any case, an inspection of the composer's notation does not throw much light on the matter.

Such cases as have been noticed must necessarily be few, for the sublime lies at one of the natural frontiers of music, and music, for the most part, is exercised in the midway of its natural limits. In

its purely physical aspect, the limits of music are to be found, on the lower side, in silence, and, on the upper side, in noise, the one being a vacuum of sound and the other a superfluity of the same. In its psychological aspect music has two natural frontiers that correspond to these. It reaches a limit when it taxes the resources of expression and so creates a plenitude of significance. This is the boundary marked by the sublime. On the other hand it can be so devoid of significance that it barely leaves a psychological impression and remains little more than an auditory experience. This limit may be called the inane. To give examples of this peculiar effect might seem uncharitable, but, if we imagine the sound caused by two kittens playing up and down a pianoforte keyboard, examples of the sort of composition that fulfils the inane will, no doubt, come to mind. The inane may also occur in a composition in which the intervals employed, while having a fundamental relation to the scales in common use, nevertheless seem so close to the natural order of the notes of the scale, and therefore so unoriginal, that nothing distinctive escapes into expression.

It is in the latter case that a paradox begins to appear, namely, that there is sometimes an alarming resemblance between the inane and the sublime. Saying everything is dangerously similar to saying nothing, for both are absolutes. When we express something, we subtract it from the sum-total of meanings which is its context and individualize it by isolating it; but the sublime isolates nothing and in the inane there is nothing to isolate. Thus they have their affinity, and if we are called upon to decide if a certain flight of arpeggios or a downward graduation of the scale constitutes an example of the sublime or an example of the inane, we may have to fall back on a present-day saying that fulfils a need and say "It depends what you mean".

The same thing happens with words. I would say that "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity" and "Ripeness is all" both have that plenitude of meaning which ranks them as sublime among sayings. A logician, however, could show that the first is a contradiction in terms and the second is tautological, for "all" and "vanity" are opposite in meaning, while the idea of "all" is included in the idea of "ripeness". But the logician would not have the last word. In phrases like these the mould of expression is broken and, out of what seems to be a vacuum, there flashes forth like lightning what we must suspect to be the whole truth about everything.

TWO NEW FRENCH OPERAS

BY DOREL HANDMAN

THE subscribers of the Milan Teatro alla Scala do not care for present-day music. They will allow a specimen to be offered to them now and again, which they will listen to in stony silence, leaving it to the *vulgarum pecus* in the gallery to voice its reactions. Thereafter they return to their early loves: Rossini, Verdi, Wagner. Let it be said, nevertheless, that all the important new works are given, and magnificently given, at Milan. Early this year it was the turn of Darius Milhaud's 'David' to appear there, and in spite of the state of things just described, it was received with extreme cordiality.

In 1953 this work had been produced in the form of an oratorio at Jerusalem, on the occasion of the three-thousandth anniversary of the city. For various material reasons it had been impossible to give a stage performance, but I am sure that even in concert form 'David' must have made a great impression, thanks not only to the persuasive power of Milhaud's music, but also to the libretto by Armand Lunel.

At the opening a chorus of modern Israelites comments on the action. What is more, it seems to create it, to make it a kind of projection of an inner vision; and it is this which must have made a performance devoid of any scenic support acceptable. All the same, 'David' is essentially a stage work, and the generalizing character which the presence of a chorus gives it does not detract in the least from its dramatic intensity. Both the author and the composer avoid a romantic preoccupation with the past, and although the term "Mediterranean" has been used, and abused, in describing their work in the past, it must here be applied once more, since it is called for by their way of presenting the characters. So far from seeking to magnify them unnaturally, Lunel and Milhaud reduce them to a human scale, though they move in a world reposing in God. All is steeped in a wisdom made of understanding and sympathy, and if David's greatness is shown us as mingled with frailty, it is that very weakness which throws him into relief.

The score shows a freedom of the spirit and a naturalness which allows the music the change between tonality and atonality, to pass from linear writing to successions of block harmony and from complex harmonic agglomerations to very simple harmonies. In the fourth act there is even a twelve-note series derived by the composer from the second finale of Mozart's 'Don Giovanni' and employed in a manner entirely his own.

No use is made of Hebraic material. Milhaud did not at all intend to attempt any sort of historical reconstitution, however slight, but wished to give free rein to his lyrical impulse. He thus made no change in his habitual idiom.

The work as a whole shows great richness of invention. Ideas are scattered in profusion, and they are fluid, luminous and outlined with extreme clarity. Particularly beautiful things are often found in the least conspicuous places of the score. Each scene is a complete organism in itself, yet Milhaud succeeds in establishing a common denominator and a sort of global unity between the twelve pictures showing the life of David from his anointment by Samuel to the consecration of young Solomon. But it is all done without any systematic recourse to *Leitmotiv* technique, and if from time to time one does come across a motif heard before, this is due to a simple association of ideas, not to any deliberate device.

Light and shade is distributed with great skill. Where joy bursts forth, it is full of sanity and vitality. But it is melancholy which mainly weaves the basic tissue of the work. Thus, in spite of the splendours of Solomon's coronation, one leaves the theatre at the end haunted with the memory of the dying David's words.

In Paris the Opéra produced Henry Barraud's 'Numance'. Its subject called forth a great variety of critical comment. Some thought it intolerably harsh, while others were struck with its dignity. The story of a beleaguered town ready to face destruction rather than to accept slavery is no doubt uncommonly austere, but it has a hardness stamped with true nobility.

The libretto was based on the tragedy by Cervantes by Salvador de Madariaga. The opening is extremely and strikingly vivacious; later on the action gains in psychological depth what it seems to lose in scenic animation. The inward struggle at the end of which each citizen accepts, in himself and for himself, the decision reached by the despairing multitude has a highly dramatic value. As for the final scene, it is truly moving: the one cowardly being in the town ends, in an access of energy, by choosing honour rather than servitude. From the height of a tower he proclaims the inward freedom he has gained and throws himself into the void.

Often violent but never brutal, Barraud's music gives pre-eminence to the voice over the orchestra: the voice acts, the orchestra reacts. The choruses, which play a major part, are very frequently sung in unison, showing the composer's wish to ensure the melodic lines a certain bareness, to obtain the utmost possible clarity and to find a plain and expressive style. The austerity of the

subject made for austerity in the composer. What is especially remarkable is that the tension never ceases to grow from beginning to end, until the suicide of the last survivor of the town forms the culminating point. This is a successful solution of the problem of construction which is worth emphasizing particularly.

Very different though they are in spirit and workmanship, these two works are far from affording an exhaustive survey of the tendencies shown nowadays by French opera. Between Henri Sauguet's 'Caprices de Marianne' and 'La Mort d'Orphée' by Pierre Henry and Pierre Schaeffer, there are numerous phenomena, and they all have their champions. Whatever may be said, opera is still the French composers' most irresistible temptation—their *Venusberg*, their Klingsor's garden. Where is the composer who has not at least one in the drawer of his work-table?

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Handel: a Documentary Biography. By Otto Erich Deutsch. pp. 942, pl. 31.
(Black, London, 1955. 70s.)

Of all the great composers none has been more consistently misrepresented by Englishmen, in word and deed, than Handel. Both his life and his music have suffered: the former has been liberally seasoned with romantic fiction, the latter buried beneath a century-and-a-half of tendentious tradition, from which it is only just beginning to emerge. In some ways the very popularity of 'Messiah' has proved a curse. Its performance with all the solemnity of ritual in an inflated and unstylish manner has built up a totally false picture in the public mind. The result has been to banish into outer darkness many works of equal if not greater artistic quality (how many Englishmen, let alone foreigners, are familiar with 'Belshazzar' and 'Hercules'?); to provoke a reaction of extreme hostility in scholars such as Ernest Walker, who assiduously punctured an Aunt Sally without discovering the real Handel; and to establish a vested interest in a diet of processed 'Messiah', washed down with a syrup of edifying and apocryphal anecdote, when the natural food would have been healthier, more varied and in the long run more appetizing.

Handel is therefore a proper subject for Professor Deutsch's method of documentary biography, which, having illuminated and disinfected the thirty-one years of Schubert's life, is now applied to the seventy-four of Handel's. Its effect on the performance of the music must be indirect, and on the life partly negative, by revealing how much of the popular conception of Handel, current in certain biographies, is sheer invention. But it should help to get the facts right, which will be a refreshing change. Reference to Deutsch's very first page will show that biographers and works of reference, almost without exception, have insisted on mis-spelling Handel's second Christian name, even though Chrysander copied the birth register correctly in 1858 and Sir Newman Flower reproduced it in facsimile. He was christened Friederich—hence the Anglicization Frideric. And to prove the fallibility of mortals, even professors, Deutsch himself gets it wrong on p. 849.

Yet Handel's life in documents is less rewarding to the non-specialist than Schubert's. Stripped of the romantic halo, he emerges as a busy and dignified public figure, of whose inner thoughts and motives we know singularly little. Here is a man who for the greater part of his life enjoyed a European reputation, the friend of royal families, aristocrats, landed gentry, men of letters and all the most historically volatile classes, who has yet contrived to veil his personality—except of course for what may be deduced from his music—from the gaze of posterity. Of his public life there are countless records, of his private life almost none. The friends to whom he gave his confidence never passed it on. At a period when written documents were increasingly exchanged and preserved, he either wrote very few letters or his correspondents incredibly did not think them worth keeping. Even the many anecdotes which such a conspicuous

figure inevitably inspired are limited to a few traits, mostly superficial. His love of the table was caricatured as gluttony; his propensity to swear in an eloquent tangle of five languages, his defenestration of *prima donnas*, and the quick veering of his temper between anger and generous amends received due acknowledgement. His numerous benefactions to charity and the careful management of his accounts with the Bank of England (here printed in full for the first time) have been revealed. But we know nothing whatever about his relations with women, whom he characterized in his operas and oratorios with a variety and subtlety of sympathetic understanding unsurpassed even by Mozart; and an age of scurrilous pamphleteering, almost as much given to exploring the lives of theatrical celebrities as our own, was quite unable to generate a breath of scandal on this subject. There remains but one way of discovering Handel the man—through his music. The exceptional care with which he revised, dated and cherished his autographs, and the equal care with which they have since been preserved as a body and put at the disposal of scholars, make it possible to discover more about the precise working of his musical imagination than about that of almost any composer of comparable rank. The full study of this material is not Deutsch's task; nor hitherto has it been anyone else's.

If therefore this book disappoints the reader avid for undress detail, the blame should not be laid on Professor Deutsch. He has assembled a vast number of extracts from newspapers, official archives, letters, treatises, theatrical registers, minute books, account books, poems, sermons, novels, diaries and documents of every kind. Some are new to print; others have been rescued from curious and recondite sources; many of the most important, for instance Handel's letters to Jennens, have been checked with the originals and given correctly for the first time. But most of them are impersonal, and very few emanate from Handel himself. By far the largest class are cuttings from newspapers; and these, though of the highest importance to the biographer, do not make exciting reading. There are a few exceptions: the press controversies provoked by the entry of Holy Writ into the opera house in '*Israel in Egypt*' and later in '*Messiah*' afford a fascinating glimpse of the social background and a sadly prophetic one of the fate of Handel's music under the misguided influence of the evangelical revival. But for the most part the newspapers record only the data of performances and publications. There are disappointingly few diary references, apart from the laconic notes of the Earl of Egmont and one or two by the barrister John Baker, who attended a rehearsal of '*Judas Maccabaeus*' at Handel's house and described, in true Handelian style, how he "went après midi con Uxor in chariot to '*Messiah*', could not get seat in Upper Gallery, sat in lower". The letters make considerably the liveliest reading. Most of them, Mrs. Delany's for instance, have long been familiar; but these are the documents that communicate the true flavour of the period and the vibrancy of real life. Catherine Talbot writes to Elizabeth Carter of '*Judas Maccabaeus*' in 1747: "Those oratorios of Handel's are certainly (next to the *hooting of owls*) the most solemnly striking music one can hear. I am sure you must be fond of them, even I am who have no ear for music", and Lady Luxborough describes the visit of her husband's steward to the same oratorio in 1748:

He speaks with such ecstasy of the music, as I confess I cannot conceive any one can feel who understands so more of music than myself; which I take to be his case. But I suppose he sets his judgment true to that of the multitude; for if his ear is not nice enough to distinguish the harmony, it serves to hear what the multitude say of it.

The unmusical of all ages are much like.

Despite such human touches here and there, the publishers were ill advised to call the book "infinitely more alive than the ordinary biography [and] more readable". This is not true, and could not be true. Deutsch is entitled to claim that "cumulative truth . . . results from chronological documentation", and his strictures on Handel's biographers, with a few honourable exceptions, are unfortunately justified; but a work of this kind is not meant for continuous reading. Biography, if it is an art (as it surely is), implies selection and interpretation, for the preserving jelly of history has no sense of proportion; whereas it is the essence of Deutsch's method not to select, but to present all the evidence. Of course his commentary and notes are invaluable—indeed indispensable—for identifying references and elucidating obscurities, and they reflect an immense amount of hard work; but they cannot fully relate the man either to his music or to the times. They represent as it were only the first chew of the cud. What Deutsch has done is to give us the raw material, sifted for accuracy, but requiring the hand of the biographer and the musician to bring it to life and put it to practical use. There is valuable evidence here about Handel's own performances, including in some cases a full list of singers and instrumentalists with their exact remuneration. But the context needs to be filled out from a wide knowledge of the period.

There are some errors and omissions, as is natural in a work of this size and complexity. On p. 19, for instance, the psalm of which Handel composed a second setting in 1707 should be 'Laudate pueri', not 'Dixit Dominus', and the double chorus "Gloria Patri" (not "Gloria Patriae") is in fact the finale of another psalm, 'Nisi Dominus', first published in full by T. W. Bourne. Additional information on the artillery kettle-drums in the Tower of London and documents concerned with Handel's borrowing of them were published by Dr. H. G. Farmer in 'Handel's Kettledrums and other Papers on Military Music' (1950). The statement on p. 412 that no plays were allowed on the London stage during Lent cannot be right and is indeed disproved by a number of entries in this book. Stage performances had been forbidden on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent (and doubtless in Passion Week) since Queen Anne's reign; but that seems to have been the extent of the prohibition. The notion that oratorios were created to fill a complete Lenten vacuum in theatrical life is a double myth: there was no such vacuum, and the first oratorios were not performed in Lent; they gravitated to that season by degrees after swinging to and fro across the calendar.

On one point of procedure Deutsch is perhaps open to criticism. His decision to close the account in 1759 automatically excludes evidence recorded for the first time after Handel's death. It is true that this is not applied too rigidly. He uses Mainwaring's biography, published in 1760, as a narrative framework for the earlier part of the story—very rightly, since it is not only the first of all musical biographies but is based

on material supplied by J. C. Smith and other sources very close to Handel, nor has it ever been reprinted in English—and he includes a fourteen-page Appendix of selected documents from the years 1760-80. Some of these, such as Shaftesbury's memoranda of Handel (never before printed in full) and Morell's account of his collaboration in the oratorios, are very important—and it would be churlish to wish away Deutsch's note on Smollett's reference to Handel's death ("In the footnote there follows a list of five Scotsmen, all of them more than one hundred years of age, who died within a few months in 1759"). But much first-hand material is missing, notably Burney's vivid pages on Handel's character, his manner of performance and his behaviour at rehearsal—an omission all the more regrettable since the matter is as entertaining as it is historically valuable. It may be that considerations of space weighed here: the book contains 942 large pages and is certain to expand (there are already seven pages of Addenda, and several new items have come to light since it went to press). But this hardly explains certain curiosities of selection. We are given Hawkins's account (1770) of the 'Esther' revival of February 1732 in preference to Burney's, which is not only fuller but the work of a much more careful scholar, who moreover obtained his information from two of the original cast, John Randall (later Professor of Music at Cambridge) and Thomas Barrow (later leader of the altos in Handel's oratorios). In the light of this omission the note on p. 289 ("According to Burney, the Bishop of London, still Gibson, opposed the idea of a 'sacred story' performed on the stage. There is no proof for this tradition") is seriously misleading. The positive statement of two participants to a reliable witness is much stronger than a tradition. It is also unfortunate that while many revealing and well-authenticated anecdotes are excluded, the book should end with one that rings false—the often repeated but uncharacteristically priggish saying attributed to Handel at the first London performance of 'Messiah' ("I should be sorry if I only entertained them, I wish to make them better"), recorded by James Beattie in a letter of 1780.

Nevertheless Professor Deutsch has carried out his task with the most meticulous skill. Probably no other scholar could have assembled so much information from so many sources (including many new ones in Germany and some in Italy). Certainly no one has hitherto done so. He has produced a work of the highest utility and left all Handel scholars in his debt; it is now for them to carry on the good work. W. D.

Haydn's Settings of Scottish Songs in the Collections of Napier and Whyte. By Cecil Hopkinson and C. B. Oldman. *Thomson's Collection of National Song, with special reference to Haydn and Beethoven: Addenda and Corrigenda.* By Cecil Hopkinson and C. B. Oldman. (Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions, Vol. III, Part 2, Sessions 1949-50, 1950-51. pp. 72. Edinburgh, 1954. 21s. [Subscribers only.]

The scientific study of folksong is a comparatively recent thing; but its rediscovery as a source of emotional and artistic pleasure goes back to the romantic era. It is all the more curious that in this country the first full-scale folksong collection, the Rev. John Broadwood's pioneer volume of 'Old English Songs', did not appear until 1843, when collections of Scottish airs had already been popular in cultured English drawing-

rooms for the past half-century. The reasons for this are complex. In Scotland itself the conscious survival of Scottish nationalism during the period of Hanoverian rule and Jacobite rebellion was in part responsible, and found expression, throughout the eighteenth century, in the innumerable collections of Scots tunes published north of the Border, arranged either for singing or for performance by various instrumental combinations. But their impact on England did not come until the end of the century, when Dr. Johnson's attitude to Scotland had given place to the cult of the romantically wild and exotic, and the "Waverley" novels were in the offing. And when it did come, the story is interwoven with a new element, exotic in a different sense: the collaboration of Haydn—and later of Beethoven—in the arrangement of these songs for various published editions, which gave them an added appeal for many English music-lovers.

The most extensive and, in intention at least, systematic collector and publisher of Scottish songs was George Thomson, and in Vol. II of its 'Transactions' (session 1938-39) the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society published a monograph by Cecil Hopkinson and C. B. Oldman on 'Thomson's Collections of National Song, with special reference to the contributions of Haydn and Beethoven'. This important study brought order to the chaotic multiplicity of Thomson's publications and traced the successive appearance in his collections of Haydn's and Beethoven's contributions, of which a complete thematic list was attached. The present essay, by the same authors, is a kind of prologue to the tale; for it tells the story of Haydn's first appearance in the part of folksong arranger. This happened on his first visit to England in 1791, when, apparently as an act of spontaneous generosity, he made a hundred settings of Scottish songs for the publisher William Napier, who was threatened with bankruptcy. The interest and significance of this in the broader unfolding of the story is that Napier was a Scot settled in London, that he had already achieved considerable success with his first 'Selection of the most Favourite Scots-Songs', published in 1790—a year before Haydn came on the scene; and that Haydn's work for Napier established him in the public mind as an arranger of folksongs, in addition to his other claims to fame, and led to his later association with Thomson and the subsequent vogue enjoyed by Thomson's collections for over half a century.

All this emerges from the present study with admirable clarity, and a full thematic catalogue is given of Haydn's settings both for Napier and, later, for Thomson's rival Whyte, which, with a table of cross-references to Thomson's collections, makes it possible to compare Haydn's different settings of the same air in successive publications. This is of particular value and interest, both to the student of Haydn and to anyone studying the course of the folksong revival. In Haydn's case the interest lies in the fact that he was not only a romantic by temperament but also a forerunner of Bartók and Vaughan Williams in his natural and spontaneous love of folk melody. There was, however, nothing scientific about his approach; he had simply picked up Croat and Hungarian tunes and incorporated them into his music, and had been doing so for years before he came to England. But it is one matter to use a folk tune as springboard for symphonic invention, another to provide a setting for it

as a jewel in its own right, and his harmonic idiom and decorative accompaniments, beautiful as they often are in themselves, are by no means always appropriate to the airs they are designed to clothe. In this respect his first thoughts are often best, and, thanks to the comparative table here provided, it is possible to see that his settings for Napier are often superior in their simplicity to those with the "introductory and concluding symphonies"—the often elaborate instrumental preludes and postludes—which he provided for Thomson and by which Thomson set such store.

This study now joins its parent monograph, to which a brief list of Addenda and Corrigenda is also provided, as an essential element in any Haydn bibliography.

R. H.

An Introduction to Musical History. By J. A. Westrup. (Hutchinson's University Library.) pp. 176. (Hutchinson, London, 1955. 8s. 6d.)

"This is not a history of music. It is simply an attempt to outline some of the problems which historians and students have to face, and to give some idea of the conditions in which music has come into existence." So writes Professor Westrup in his Preface; but even if this is not a history, it is certainly a collection of historical studies. These studies demonstrate the difficulty of trying to take a clear, general view of musical history and show the various aspects from which the subject should be examined.

In the opening chapter the author declares his beliefs on the nature of history, its value and its scope. He discusses evolution and progress in music, and the critical and historical equipment needed by the music historian. Then follows an account of the sources of musical history and a description of those histories which have so far been published. No history of music, we discover, can be entirely satisfactory; but subjective history is to be preferred to that which distorts facts to fit a theory; Burney, therefore, is to be preferred to Cecil Gray. The next five chapters are studies in the various environments, artistic, social and economic, in which great music has been produced; and in the final chapter Professor Westrup discusses how and why the history of music is to be studied.

The aim of this book would appear to be the stimulation of the critical faculties of the musician, teaching him to analyse cause and effect in the order of historical events. We are shown, for example, the effect of marriage on a composer; or the strongly traditional nature of church music; or the unsatisfactory effect of dividing musical history into limited periods. Professor Westrup is not afraid of making personal judgments of his own—judgments which sometimes result in such pithy descriptions as "Plainsong is by its very nature opposed to secular music; it eschews neatly symmetrical rhythms, it allows for ecstasy, it suggests mystery"; or "The fascination of contrapuntal writing lies not so much in the combination of different melodic lines as in the combination of contrasted rhythms".

The presentation of the matter is not always satisfactory. The essay on 'The Influence of the Church', for instance, does not seem to follow any closely logical course. The author discusses these topics: the origins of church music; the inseparability of sacred and secular music; the

education of the church musician; the Church as an employer of musicians; inspiration and church music; and finally—at some length—the liturgical function of music and the Church's attitude towards it, with particular regard to the use of musical instruments. Each of these topics is dealt with lucidly, but the connection between them is sometimes tenuous and confusing. This is emphasized by the fact that each topic is dealt with historically, and the reader is rushed breathlessly to and from the eleventh to the nineteenth centuries. This discursive method is excellent lecturing technique, but it is not helpful to a reader.

The author goes to some pains to demonstrate that if music is to be treated as a train of historical facts the stream of events must be divided into workable yet reasonable periods, but that any such division is of necessity artificial and will probably lead to distortion of the facts. Unfortunately the same kind of danger is encountered when history is neatly divided into separate topics, as is the method here. As a result, matters such as musical taste overflow from one chapter to the next, and the distinction between the subject-matter of one chapter and another is confused.

The essay on 'Patronage' is unsatisfactory because the term is never adequately defined. The dictionary definition of a patron—"one who countenances, protects, or gives support"—is unsatisfactory and barely serves to distinguish a patron from an employer. But as far as the arts are concerned, a patron may perhaps be considered to be one who gives his assistance in return for quite nominal services. The Church, therefore, can hardly be considered to be a patron of music unless, as is rarely true, she is encouraging music for its own sake, not merely as an integral part of the liturgy. Palestrina and Bach were not patronized by the Church; they were her employees. A sovereign or nobleman who has in his retinue a body of musicians to enhance his own magnificence cannot justly be considered their patron; they are as much his employees as the royal boot-black. On the other hand, Ludwig of Bavaria was certainly Wagner's patron, and Nadezhda von Meck was certainly Tchaikovsky's; and, hotly as he might have denied it, Beethoven certainly derived much of his livelihood from patronage. A distinction—and one is essential though all might not agree with the present one—is never made fully clear in this book, with the result that both the chapter on 'Patronage' and the many references to employment elsewhere need further clarification.

This is, on the whole, an admirable little book, a worthy member of an excellent series, full of useful information and valuable quotations, and exceptionally well documented. It is the product of a widely informed mind, a fine critical judgment, musical sensitivity and stylish prose. A long time has elapsed since Professor Westrup published any substantial new work, and it is to be hoped that this stimulating little volume will soon be followed by some further historical essay in which he will embody his solution to the problems he has raised here—an essay, perhaps, of the same profundity and scholarship as his own 'Purcell'. H. B.

History of the Royal Artillery Band: 1762-1953. By Henry George Farmer. pp. 485. (Royal Artillery Institution, London, 1954.)

Dr. Farmer is still the authority whom one consults when problems connected with the evolution of the military band need clarifying, for,

apart from occasional writings in sundry periodicals and two more extensive articles, one in the new edition of Grove and the other in Hinrichsen's 'Musical Year Book', Vol. VII, the subject has been almost entirely neglected by musical historians. This is perhaps due to the fact that the military band has had little or no influence in the development of music as a science or an art, but there is little doubt that it had much influence upon public taste towards the end of last century and the first two decades of this.

The new work by Dr. Farmer covers the period from 1762 almost up to the recent death of the late Lieut.-Colonel Owen Geary, Director of the band from 1936. The book bears evidence throughout its 485 pages of the author's careful attention to detail and includes numerous footnotes giving the source of his information gathered together over a period of more than half a century. Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, graciously gave permission for the volume to be dedicated to her, an honour vouchsafed by her as Captain General, Royal Regiment of Artillery.

Two very interesting tables give the constitution of both the band and the orchestra of a century ago. The latter is approximate to that of a similar-sized orchestra of the present day, except for the inclusion of an ophicleide. The military band (43 strong) has only one pair of horns, but four bassoons and two ophicleides. If two of the bassoonists are replaced by horns and the two ophicleides by euphoniums (not in use until a few years later), the instrumentation is similar to that of to-day. There is even an alto saxophone, first used in the R.A. Band in 1848. With a tenor saxophone added and the althorn omitted, the list might easily pass for that of a modern band. Dr. Farmer speaks in scathing tones of the British critics of the time who, so different from their continental contemporaries, treated military band performances with contempt, stating, for instance, that the bandmasters should instil "some notion of good music" into their players, bandsmen whose experience and skill as orchestral musicians led them to be constantly employed with orchestras of renown. "Notion of good music" indeed! Why, the R.A. Orchestra had performed the 'Meistersinger' overture in 1868, fourteen years before it had appeared on the desks of the Philharmonic Society's orchestra. In 1863 a catalogue of the music library gives the military band as having 748 works and the orchestra 579, including 26 symphonies. (The present library has a total of over 8,000 works.)

The appendices include lists of officers and secretaries of the band, its bandmasters and Directors of Music, senior non-commissioned officers, former members who became bandmasters or Directors of Music, and a list of principal performers, though there is no inclusion of the bass, either string or brass. There are also four plans showing the seating of the orchestra in the nineteenth century, when it is interesting to note that the first violins are on the right in the first half of the century but on the left after 1854; the leader-conductor in the mid-century orchestra is in the centre, not in the usual place at the front. Incidentally no violas are shown in the latter case.

I understand that a very comprehensive general history of military music by Dr. Farmer still awaits completion of the final chapter. May it soon be forthcoming; but until it does appear, his 'History of the Royal Artillery Band' will assuredly become the text-book for students of the wind band.

H. C. H.

Music in my Time. By Alfredo Casella. Translated by Spencer Norton. pp. 254. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1955. \$4.00.)

Casella's memoirs were published in Italian in 1941 as 'I segreti della giara' ('La giara' is one of his ballets, and perhaps he meant that he was here yielding his secrets, released from the jar as from some kind of innocuous Pandora's box). He was then still alive, but the present translation is posthumous. On the whole it is very readable, but it contains a few of those curious Germanisms which seem to be creeping into transatlantic English: "one time more" and "two times" read much more like "noch einmal" and "zweimal" than like "once more" and "twice", which are still quite serviceable. And of course our old friend "genial" appears again as the equivalent of *genial*.

Casella paints a by no means unflattering portrait of himself as an artist and a man, but cannot help giving it a slightly disagreeable tinge now and again, perhaps precisely because he takes such pains not to do so. A certain humorlessness, too, is perhaps rather against him; but one must suppose that an artist is lucky who is able to say so frankly, as Casella does in his foreword, that his life seems to him to have been well spent.

He also very openly admires his own music, which he claims to have become more and more purely Italian. It is not too easy to see what he means by that, for he accounts for its pure Italianism in various strange ways. He has arrived at it, for instance, he says, by eschewing opera—after all an Italian-born art—until quite late in his career and by a renunciation of what he unbelievably considers the "rigid" Beethovenian form. Avoidance of the "seductions of the symphonic poem" and the "inconsistency of impressionism" does not necessarily produce Italian music, one should have thought, nor were the "old polyphonic instrumental disciplines" and the "old admirable, easy, free discursiveness of music" exclusively Italian.

Ultimately, of course, the world will decide how Italian and how good it considers Casella's work to be, and that world has not so far been over-generous to him as a composer. Meanwhile his book will do something to make him better known and more admired, if perhaps not exactly liked, as a man. He was certainly a personality, and after a difficult but rewarding childhood at Turin he had a richly varied and interesting artistic life, both in his earlier years in Paris and later on in Rome, where he was hard-worked, supported by good friends, frequently attacked with great violence (more often stupidly than maliciously, as he forgivingly says) and managed to pull strings usefully as a resourceful artistic diplomat and organizer.

He is very often interesting on the music of various schools and, for a composer, unusually liberal in his tastes. It seems strange, somehow, that he should have continued to love Chopin's B minor Sonata, which his Paris teacher, Diémer, had found "too dry"; one would have thought it not nearly dry enough for him. Stranger still is his enthusiasm for Mahler, who would seem to be his exact antithesis in every conceivable way; but then Mahler had been kind to him. His taste extended even to Brahms, who is not normally the choice of those who take pride in their unadulterated Latinism. If he also took pleasure in the vapid music of Saint-Saëns, that was perhaps just one of those unaccountable composers' caprices, all the more curious because he seems to have thought

that the composer of 'Samson et Dalila' (about the most unsuitable work he could have named in this connection) influenced Fauré, whom he adored and, almost as strangely, regarded as having influenced himself—which is hard to see, though he did write admirable imitation-Fauré in 'À la manière de . . .'. Towards Debussy he is cool—he was too "imprecise"—and he greatly prefers the "precise" Ravel (the antithetical adjectives are his, and they serve well to refute the notion, still prevalent in Casella's Paris days, that these two wrote the same kind of music).

Of modern Italian music, apart from his own, we learn little, and what he does discuss has already been left behind by this time. We gather that he liked Malipiero's work because he liked its composer; that he was dead-set against Respighi's picturesque idiom, but reluctant to condemn it openly; and he is very cool towards Pizzetti. One feels that there were too many internal musico-political considerations to let him say anything really valuable about his closest colleagues.

There are a few mis-statements of opinion and of fact. Schoenberg's 'Pierrot lunaire' is not a twelve-note work, as Casella suggests (p. 105). "I recalled", he says (p. 181), "that Brahms did not wish to attempt the symphony before middle age, so great did he consider the responsibility of the undertaking. In the same manner, I did not think myself ready at an earlier age to confront the still more arduous problem of the opera." But it is surely much easier to make a success of an opera than of a symphony. Of the I.S.C.M. Festival of Oxford and London in 1931 he says (p. 186): "Besides Italian works, I conducted Gershwin's 'An American in Paris', which was a frenetic success amidst so much arid and boring music." Well, I distinctly remember that there was international unanimity in the utter condemnation of this jolly, vulgar and quite unimportant work as part of such a programme.

E. B.

Clara Novello: 1818-1908. By Averil Mackenzie-Grieve. pp. 338. (Bles, London, 1955. 25s.)

The turn of fortune which has brought the fame of Victorians into the range of definitive biography could hardly fail to touch the Novello family. In 1948 the literary daughter of Vincent and Mary—Mary Cowden Clarke—was amply treated by Professor Altick. Now it is the turn of Clara.

Born within the lifetime of Beethoven and Schubert, praised by Lord Mount Edgecumbe, acquainted with the Mendelssohns and Schumanns, Clara Novello lived to such great age that, fifty years ago, a young English student in Rome was able to meet her. "I was enthralled to hear her talk of a past to her so vivid, and so remote to us. She spoke of Mendelssohn, Chopin, Wagner and Liszt as if they were contemporaries, as to her they indeed were." So Sir George Dyson, in a letter to Miss Mackenzie-Grieve, recalls the occasion.

Clara Novello's career as a singer was remote: for the latter half of her life she lived away from it, devoted and dutiful to the affairs of her statesman husband, Count Giovanni Battista Gigliucci, and her children. Between the years 1832—when she took part in the first English performance of Beethoven's 'Missa solemnis'—and 1860—when her farewell concert was given in St. James's Hall—she was, however, the greatest of

English singers. Pushed on, against her inner desires, by an ambitious and purposeful mother (excellently portrayed by the author) she had such successes in the courts, concert-halls and opera-houses of Europe that her record makes fabulous reading. Her subsequent history, at the centre of Italian liberalism, makes equally fabulous reading, and in more spacious days she would have surely earned two volumes of biography: one about the singer, the other about the Countess.

In condensing the vast amount of material available in the Gigliucci archives at Fermo, as well as other collections, into moderate compass Miss Mackenzie-Grieve has had to make some sacrifices. It is to be regretted that it is the singer who has suffered. Miss Mackenzie-Grieve leaves out the routine engagements (undertaken after her marriage to sustain the meagre resources of the impoverished Gigliuccis) noted by Clara in her own 'Reminiscences', and one might also have expected some reference to her part in the London Wagner concerts in 1855. There is nothing so difficult as to assess the qualities of a great performer of a former age. It is none the less the biographer's duty to attempt the task. In this case the obligation is by-passed.

But Miss Mackenzie-Grieve has her own approach to literature. On the one hand she writes "romantic novels", on the other studies of "pioneer women"; the present work shows her abilities in both directions, sometimes to the discomfiture of the reader. A voguish style, aromatic with adjectives and interspersed with preciosities, would not have amused Clara, who was not unlike the great queen herself in many ways. The invention of dialogue is a dangerous hobby and unnecessary in such a work as this. For Miss Mackenzie-Grieve's *joie d'écrire* is sufficiently infectious in itself and, unforced, sweeps the general reader through many vivid episodes, of which the phenomenal tour of 1837-38, the visit to St. Petersburg and the reoccupation of Fermo by the Austrians in 1849 are outstanding, while the growth of the *risorgimento* fills many pages with accurate narration and exciting reading.

Miss Mackenzie-Grieve is a skilled professional in the art of letters. She quotes her authorities and knows where to look for information not within her normal field; but for one with a fastidious taste in modern languages she shows an unnatural distaste for the *Umlaut*—to the disadvantage of Weber in particular. All in all, however, it is to be recognized that 'Clara Novello' will provide enjoyable reading for many whose previous incursions into musical literature may (from the point of view of recreation) have been unrewarding.

P. M. Y.

Singing Family of the Cumberlands. By Jean Ritchie. pp. 282. (Oxford University Press; Geoffrey Cumberlege, London, 1955. 23s.)

A Guide to English Folk Song Collections, 1822-1952: with an Index to their Contents, Historical Annotations and an Introduction. By Margaret Dean-Smith. pp. 119. (Liverpool University Press; English Folk Dance and Song Society, 1954. 15s.)

Ever since Cecil Sharp's collection of English folk-songs in the Appalachian mountains of North America was published, we have known something of the kind of simple life lived in the isolation of those parts of Kentucky, Carolina and Virginia. It was such as to encourage people to be their own musical entertainers and such as to preserve songs of all

sorts by oral tradition. Barely a couple of years ago a young woman came to England from Kentucky and sang folksongs to the accompaniment of a strangely shaped instrument, which she called a dulcimer, in the sophisticated surroundings of the American Embassy and the Albert Hall, and Argo has published some of her recordings. Here is her book, describing in intimate detail the kind of family and community life which Sharp found forty years ago, but which is being modified by motor-car and radio.

The life of the Ritchie family is too uneventful, it would seem to the reader, to furnish material for a biography, were it not for the forty-two songs, which include traditional ballads, nursery songs, white spirituals, carols and even a popular radio love-song, with which the naive story is embellished. Yet the story, naive or not, holds the reader's attention because it vividly portrays the day-to-day life of a community that was described by Cecil Sharp as a survival of the eighteenth century into the twentieth. Sharp himself never heard the dulcimer in the districts which he toured, but he knew of its existence. Some of the tunes printed by Miss Ritchie are variants of those in Sharp's collection. Many of the tunes are pentatonic, and it seems likely that the community in the Cumberland Mountains of Kentucky had their own melodic predilections, for there is a family likeness in matters of mode and rhythm among a great many of Miss Ritchie's songs: they conform, as it were, to a local type as well as retaining the marks of their heredity. Most of the small literature about folksong collecting is written in the past tense; one of the attractions of this book is its documentary interest and up-to-dateness, for the author is still young.

The historical view of folksong collecting is presented succinctly and in better perspective than is obtainable elsewhere in the Introduction to Miss Dean-Smith's book. The Guide itself consists of a catalogue of published collections and an alphabetical index of the songs contained in these collections. This part of a most useful bibliographical instrument of reference and research is a complement to the index previously compiled by Miss Dean-Smith of the folksongs to be found in the Journals of the Folk Song Society and the English Folk Dance and Song Society. The infuriating difficulty of tracing any particular song, ballad, shanty or carol was found to be so much eased by Miss Dean-Smith's first index of unpublished songs that she was rightly impelled to complete the good work by performing the same service for the published songs scattered through some sixty song-books that have appeared between 1822 and 1952. Life has been made much easier for all who concern themselves with folksong by these careful and scholarly documents. F. H.

Thesaurus of Orchestral Devices. By Gardner Read. pp. 631. (Pitman, London, 1953. 9os.)

With a nice sense of self-irony this tome is inscribed with a dedication to two other "indefatigable begetters of pandects, lexicons and thesauri". Our transatlantic colleagues are certainly adepts at monumental compilations, and Gardner Read is no exception. His 'Thesaurus' in fact provides the answer to the student's prayer—and not only the student's—encompassing, as it does, all orchestral devices used since the time of Monteverdi up to the present, with chapter and verse given as to

where they can be found in characteristic application. It was natural that the choice should have been made largely from symphonic music of the programme and impressionist variety, though operatic works are also drawn upon. It is regrettable, however, that in a publication of such scope no room could have been found for the inclusion of detailed references to chamber music, the sole exception being 'L'Histoire du soldat' and 'Pierrot lunaire'. For a good many sound-effects in modern string writing, as indeed examples of modern string writing itself, can best be studied, in a very striking and daring form, in the quartets of Bartók, Berg and Schoenberg.

The value of this book—the first of its kind, it would appear—is enhanced by three introductory chapters dealing, respectively, with the nomenclature of the instruments, their different ranges through the centuries and the evolution of the modern symphony orchestra, while one of the four indices gives a complete table of notations. The price seems stiff but is not unreasonably so for a publication of such size and handsome production.

M. C.

A Handbook of Piano Playing. By Eric Hope. (Student's Music Library, edited by Percy M. Young.) pp. 72. (Dobson, London, 1955. 6s.)

Within the limited compass of some sixty pages Mr. Eric Hope succeeds in concentrating a wealth of illuminating advice on the art of playing the piano. He takes a remarkably comprehensive view of his subject, treating the musical, intellectual, physical and imaginative aspects with equal thoroughness and perception. He also explains, as he goes along, the mechanism of the instrument itself with a view to inculcating in the player a complete understanding of all the relevant possibilities of tone-production. Although the book is addressed primarily to students, teachers and advanced performers may also be grateful for the new light it sheds on their own special problems. Non-executant lovers of piano music, too, should find it stimulating to their appreciation of the finer points of performance.

The book is divided into nine chapters, the first and shortest entitled 'What is meant by "Technique"?' The following four chapters comprise a minute analysis of the act of touch. They are devoted respectively to the preparation of the note to be played, the descent of the key, its holding and release, and lastly, tone production in general. This section of the book is inevitably highly technical, but the writer's extreme clarity of expression and his vivid similes make it no less easy and absorbing reading than the more expansive concluding chapters on pedalling, methods of practising, interpretation and performance.

Among especially good points are the practical recommendations for more rational systems of fingering than are indicated in many "standard" editions and for greater awareness of the effects produced by pedalling. "Our pedalling", he writes, "must, in fact, be capable of some modification according to the response of different instruments and the acoustic properties of different rooms or concert-halls." Much sound advice is given, too, on methods of producing varying shades of tone-colour, on the acquisition of a "singing" tone by means of the sensitive shaping of phrases, and on the emphasizing for expressive purposes of single notes within complete chords. The numerous music-

type examples represent many styles of composition. The only kind of piano texture to which Mr. Hope hardly refers is the purely contrapuntal. In writing, for instance, of the "precise duration of sounds", he states that it "often has an important bearing on the question of tone-quality", but he does not say that the holding or releasing of notes may make or mar the musical effect of a piece of part-writing. Again, in giving admirable suggestions for varying the "relative loudness of component sounds", which he exemplifies with a phrase from the middle section of Brahms's 'Intermezzo' in A, Op. 118, No. 2, he picks out inner notes for accentuation but ignores the fragments of canonic imitation between the parallel tiers of chords. However, such points as these, and the blurred printing of a few of the music-type examples, are negligible defects in a delightfully companionable book which offers much of real value and interest, and which can be warmly recommended to pianists of all grades of proficiency.

K. D.

Les Romantiques et la musique : le cas George Sand. By Thérèse Marix-Spire. pp. 700. (Nouvelles Éditions Latines, Paris, 1954. 45s.)

The inability of the French romantic writers to appreciate or understand music has been persistently stressed in manuals and critical works for almost a century, and in spite of some misgivings, most readers of romantic literature felt constrained, under the pressure of formidable opposition, to admit that in comparison with the symbolist poets the romantics were not musical. Madame Marix-Spire's excellent book will be received with gratitude by all those who wished to see the question rightly judged. The study of George Sand and of the all-important place taken by music in her life and work provides the guiding-thread for the treatment of a much greater problem: the manner in which music was accepted and enjoyed in the literary society of the time. The introductory chapter, 'Écrivains et musiciens au temps du Romantisme', which is constructed entirely from contemporary sources, is sufficient in itself to destroy the most deeply-rooted prejudices against the musical sensitivity of French writers before 1839.

The portrait of George Sand is equally revealing. Madame Marix-Spire has spared us a repetition of the old threadbare anecdotes; a cursory glance might tend to tax the study as apologetic, but explaining is not excusing, and a quick comprehension on the part of a biographer not necessarily a sign of predisposition. Determined to study George Sand primarily as an artist, the author has considered the events of her life only in so far as they have direct bearing on her as an artist; in treating the early part of her life until just before the liaison with Chopin, she has shown the years which were the most rich in influence as well as being least known from the musical point of view. The reader perceives clearly how the artistic development of George Sand is intimately related at every step to her love and appreciation of music, and how the confrontation of the two is mutually illuminating.

The amount of new material in the book is considerable. Many unpublished letters of George Sand complement her already known correspondence, autobiographical texts and literary work, and throw new light on her relationships with many famous musical and literary figures. Madame Marix-Spire has made extensive use of periodicals,

journals, theatre and concert programmes, and these are completed and commented on by memoirs, letters and recollections. The arrangement of the book is chronological and falls into four main parts. In the first the author evokes the picture of a musical family during the *ancien régime* and in the second she shows the early life and first musical education received by the young Aurore Dupin at the hands of her grandmother and others less competent. The arrival of George Sand in Paris, before her personal connections with musicians, sets the reader immediately in the world of theatre, opera and concerts; the stay in Italy of Alfred de Musset and George Sand introduces perhaps the two finest chapters of the book, 'La musique en Italie à l'époque romantique' and 'Venise, ville chantante', which contain, apart from valuable material and delightful colour, some extremely perspicacious if unexpected judgments of musical life in Italy at this period. In Paris, after George Sand comes into personal contact with musicians, we see her go through the circles of the Saint-Simoniens and of Lamennais, and Berlioz, Liszt, Meyerbeer, Madame Malibran, Madame Garcia and many others make their appearance. No one interested in the life and work of Liszt can fail to be impressed by Madame Marix-Spire's assessment of the influence exerted on it by George Sand.

The book contains many footnotes, indications of references and sources, a full bibliography and appendices with musical themes and letters, as well as several excellent illustrations, but the admirable erudition never permits the spontaneity of the text to be destroyed or its clarity obscured by a mass of detail. The personalities of George Sand and her friends are made to live again through and by the music they loved, and this musical appreciation and tradition we hold in common with them gives them a vivid actuality. Madame Marix-Spire, by a profound sympathy and comprehension, has realized from which aspect apparent contradictions in the life and work of George Sand may be resolved, and her study may be admired for its beauty as well as its integrity.

J. C. E.

Neue Musik in der Entscheidung. By Karl J. Wörner. pp. 347. (Schott, Mainz, 1954. Mk. 12.60.)

The title of this book, somewhat dramatic in its wording, encourages the reader to assume that he might here find an answer to the tantalizingly unanswerable question "Whither, modern music?" Yet the author is wise enough not to attempt any prognostications, confining himself to what is essentially a survey, and a very complete and lucid survey it is. Dr. Wörner has omitted nothing, and in fact adds to our knowledge by describing not only the "official" practices (Schoenberg, Bartók, Stravinsky, Hindemith), but also some "private" ones, such as Blacher's "variable metres", Messiaen's "modes à transpositions limitées" and the "diatonic modes" of the American John Vincent. In addition, the modern achievements of particular countries are briefly but succinctly passed in review, and the historian in Dr. Wörner proclaims himself in the endeavour to trace, wherever possible, historical parallels and to contemplate the contemporary scene against the large background of past centuries. On the whole he eschews value judgments, which is certainly no fault in a survey; but this tends to lend his book a dryly

lexicographical air, and the staggering of facts makes for an uncomfortable digestion of so vast and complex a subject. Yet when all is said, these are very minor blemishes in a writer who evinces such firm command over his material and skill in the art of comprehensive and comprehensible exposition as Dr. Wörner does.

For a book of this kind 'Musik in der Entscheidung' contains remarkably few inaccuracies. One or two may be pointed out. Thus, is it true to state that the thematic material of Bartók's first Quartet shows no influence from Magyar folk music? What of the introductory cello recitative and the pentatonic second subject of the finale? Nor is it possible to accept the findings of Roswitha Traimer's dissertation (cited by Dr. Wörner) to the effect that the Magyar element scarcely left any traces on the Bartók quartets. Apart from such patent instances (and more could be adduced) as the variation theme of the *seconda parte* in the third Quartet and the alluring melodies of the *alla bulgarese* scherzo and trio in the fifth Quartet, the quartets as a whole represent perhaps the most sublimated manifestation of that synthesis of East and West which formed one of the mainsprings of Bartók's creative life. On p. 68 "Konzert für zwei Klaviere und Schlagzeug" should read "Sonate".

M. C.

Musikbibliographische Beiträge. By Åke Davidsson. pp. 118. (Lundquist, Uppsala; Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1954, Kr. 11.00.)

This well-produced volume, the most recent of Davidsson's valuable publications, is one of a series of monographs produced as part of the 'Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis'. It was originally written in Swedish, and has been translated into excellent German by Dr. Robert Braun. The author has gathered together three studies in musical bibliography, the first two of which are especially concerned with rare and *recherche* items in Swedish libraries. The third is a praiseworthy attempt to compile a *catalogue raisonné* of literature relating to the history of music printing, and is an expansion of one of the author's articles published in 'Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning' (1947-48).

In the first study, which deals with rare printed music (including some *unica*) in Swedish libraries, there are six half-tone illustrations of title-pages and music, including the delightful engraved frontispiece to Remy Médard's 'Pièces de guitare' (1676) and interesting facsimiles of pages from John Abell's 'Airs pour le Concert' (c. 1700) and Johann Thiele's 'Arien aus dem Singe-Spiele Orontes' (1673). Davidsson discusses in considerable detail more than two dozen rarities and ends by whetting the musico-bibliographical appetite still further in a final paragraph which refers briefly to a number of seventeenth-century Italian *unica*, described long ago by Mitjana in Swedish and Spanish periodicals. It is good to have our attention called to these earlier essays, whose importance in present-day musical research is possibly underestimated.

Besides those names already mentioned, extensive accounts are given of publications covering a wide variety of musical species. There is, for example, the very scarce sixth book of the 'Cantiones sacrae' published by Hubert Waelrant and Jan de Laet in 1554-56; the other five books are well known, but the sixth, devoted exclusively to the work of Waelrant, is known only in the copy preserved at the Royal Musical Academy in

Stockholm. In the field of secular vocal music the splendid library at Linköping has much to offer—the elegantly bound volumes of *canzone napoletane* published between 1565 and 1567, and the manuscript copies of chansons published by Faignient in Paris during the second half of the sixteenth century. German music is well represented by printed collections of Joachim a Burcks, Valentini Neander, Euricius Dedekind (a large musical family from Neustadt), Wolfgang Striccius and Eucarius Hoffman.

Printed music of German provenance also forms the backbone of the second essay, whose subject is occasional music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Composers serving ducal court or chapel in the late renaissance and early baroque had ample opportunity of proving their *métier*, for sudden commissions for wedding, funeral or processional music were apt to descend upon them with the minimum of warning. Most of this music is thought to have an ephemeral value, although there is much of genuine artistic worth in the tributes paid by Monteverdi to Ferdinand of Austria, by Purcell to his monarch or by Schütz (in his 'Musikalische Exequien') to a patrician family in Dresden. The composers cited among those which Davidsson has carefully assembled are less familiar than Monteverdi, Purcell or Schütz; but they did the same kind of work, sometimes hack and usually humble, at Königsberg (Emmelius, Sebastiani, Röseler), at Danzig (Meder, Bütner), at Hamburg (Selles, Rubert, Bernhard) and in many other towns of Germany and Austria. Calling to mind a particularly charming Christmas cantata by the last-named composer, Christoph Bernhard, I begin to wonder whether some of this occasional music might be worth an occasional revival. It is certainly a rare subject for investigation—doctoral theses stick pretty closely to secular or liturgical music, only seldom making such an incursion as the one which Davidsson has outlined so skilfully. Of particular interest to English readers is the reference to Thomas D'Urfey's ode 'Young Gustavus or the King of Sweden's Health . . . Occasion'd by his famous Victory Over the Czar And Humbly Dedicated to the Right Honorable the Swedish Envoy And the rest of the Merchants' (1700). The music was by Jeremiah Clarke.

The third section, devoted to a list of books on the history of music printing, seems to be commendably all-embracing, with publications from Europe, Russia and the Americas. I can think of only one omission, and that is a very small one—a booklet of 16 pages published in 1924 by Jacques Durand: 'Abrégé historique et technique de l'édition musicale'. The special interest of this lies in its photographs of the French printing shops during the early part of the present century.

D. W. S.

Richard Strauss: Thematicsches Verzeichnis. By E. M. Mueller von Asow. Fascicle I, pp. 64. (Doblinger, Vienna and Wiesbaden, 1955, Mk. 9.50; Aus. S. 56.00. Subscription Mk. 8.50; A.S. 48.00.)

It is hardly possible to review this very important work suitably as yet, and publications issued by instalments are always tiresome and tantalizing. No doubt publishers have their explanations and excuses, but these are not matters concerning the public. This compilation on which Dr. Mueller von Asow has clearly been hard at work for many years—his first proofs were seen ten years ago by Strauss himself—is to

be completed in some twelve to fifteen fascicles, but we are not told how soon, and our impatience is proportionate to our desire to have the whole work on our shelves as early as may be.

This thematic catalogue promises to be as useful as Köchel's of the works of Mozart in Alfred Einstein's second revision, and it is indeed even more detailed in some respects, for it gives minute information on such matters as arrangements, performances, duration and gramophone records. The openings of each work or movement are, of course, shown in music type, beautifully engraved and not, as in the case of Köchel, set in movable type. Needless to say, dates of composition, names of dedicatees, whereabouts of the autographs (if known), editions and details of instrumentation will be given throughout the work.

Meanwhile the catalogue breaks off in the middle of a sentence of information on Op. 16, 'Aus Italien', and since works with opus numbers, from first to last, are to be given precedence, the first instalment withholds such doubtless particularly interesting information as we may hope to find later on about the forgotten early compositions of Strauss's youth. One of these, however, appears here as "Op. 1 No. 2", a song written at the age of seven for the name-day of an aunt and eventually published in 1905 as a supplement to the periodical 'Die Musik'. It is a setting of Uhland's 'Einkehr', a simple ditty familiar to all Germans about the apple-tree serving as a free wayside inn for poor wayfarers, of which Strauss made another song in 1900 (Op. 47 No. 4). No doubt curiosities of this kind will turn up again and again as the publication of this very useful work progresses.

One particularly puzzling question, for the answer to which we have to wait, is what Dr. Mueller von Asow is going to do about the thematic indexing of the operas. Köchel had no difficulty with Mozart's stage work, for he was able to give the incipits of each separate number, though even there the system broke down for the finales. But what can be done with the continuous music of Strauss's operas? Quotation of the opening of each act (or even work, in the case of the one-act operas) will not give any sort of sufficient guidance.

E. B.

L'orchestra. Symposium published to the memory of Gino Marinuzzi.
pp. 199. (Barbera, Florence, 1954. L.1400.)

It is impossible to review so miscellaneous a volume as this adequately without allowing it space disproportionate to the extent of its interest to readers of 'Music & Letters', who will need to know Italian pretty well to profit by it and may perhaps not find more than one or two of the contributions useful to them. But it presents a distinguished international team of authors and a number of valuable studies—not all published for the first time, though now first appearing in Italian—on a great variety of subjects more or less closely connected with the orchestra. One of them, the late Hans Hoffmann's study of performing practice, which is a translation of the article 'Aufführungspraxis' in 'Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart', goes so far back into antiquity as to reach the subject of this book only after a good deal of irrelevance. The other contributions are an affectionate memoir of Marinuzzi by Ildebrando Pizzetti, followed by essays on the orchestra of the eighteenth-century French symphony by Eugène Borrel, Mahler's re-orchestration of Schumann's symphonies by Mosco Carner, the function of the performer by Vittorio Gui, folly and

wisdom in opera as seen from the conductor's desk by Hans Joachim Moser, the orchestral interpretation of Lully by Marc Pincherle, Cesti's first operas by Antonino Pirrotta, and Monteverdi's orchestra by Hans Redlich.

E. B.

Anuario Musical, Vol. VIII, pp. 244. (Instituto Español de Musicología, Barcelona, 1953 [1954].)

'Anuario Musical,' in the nine years since its founding, has come to be recognized as the leading musicalological serial published in the Spanish language. The present issue contains a dozen articles, seven of which are Morales studies by Mgr. Higinio Anglès and his disciples. The first of these is an excellent discussion of Morales's life in Spain both before and after his Roman decade (1535-45). The author, Jaime Moll Roqueta, has assembled fresh notices from the capitular acts of Ávila, Plasencia and Toledo cathedrals, and has restudied certain old notices from the same sources. He begins by acknowledging his failure to find anything new at Seville, Morales's native city. The only notices advanced so far which may possibly concern his early years at Seville are the following: (1) On Wednesday, 26 August 1523, he (or another of his name) was given two months' leave from a minor chaplaincy in Seville Cathedral; (2) On Monday, 18 April 1524, he was designated a *clérigo de la veintena*, a singing clergyman at early cathedral services; (3) On Monday, 26 June 1525, he was relieved of his duties as organist in the Antigua chapel of the cathedral, in order that he might be free to serve an unnamed marqués. These brief allusions in the Seville capitular acts do not tell his age, nor when he received holy orders. For that matter, they may as well pertain to another Morales as to the composer.

The next document on which a biography of Morales should be built has disappeared since its discovery in 1919. Mitjana vouched, however, for the authenticity of the document, which was found in a volume of capitular acts at Ávila cathedral and mentioned Morales's appointment as cathedral chapel master on 8 August 1526. Morales left soon afterwards and served as chapel master at Plasencia from either 1528 or 1529 until the end of 1531. The first capitular act mentioning his presence in Plasencia is dated either 14 February 1528 or 14 February 1529. The author of the article now being reviewed gives 1528 as the date on p. 7 of 'Anuario Musical', but 1529 on p. 9. D. Manuel López Sánchez Mora, the distinguished archivist of Plasencia cathedral, has signalized the date of Morales's appearance at Plasencia as 1529. No one has found the capitular act which should mention Morales's initial appointment to the chapel master's post, and for the present the exact date of his entry must therefore remain a question mark.

Morales regularly appeared at *cabildo* meetings while at Plasencia, which was not to be the case when later he served in a similar capacity at Toledo and Málaga cathedrals. His duties included the lodging, boarding and instruction of four choirboys. On 29 April 1530 the *cabildo* at Morales's instigation passed a rule requiring every clergyman who did any singing in the cathedral services to take a weekly music lesson with him (on Thursday afternoons). At the same time the *cabildo* required all regular choir members to take a daily lesson. One of these, Serradilla, was later officially reproved and dismissed because he spent his time

"fishing" and refused to advance himself musically. On 24 October 1531, shortly before Morales was replaced, the *cabildo* dismissed another singer, a *tiple* named Oliva, whose voice was poor.

Some interesting details of Morales's private life have been found in the Plasencia capitular acts. On 4 February 1530 he was granted a month's leave to visit his home town and there give away his sister in marriage. At that date she was designated an "orphan", both parents having already died. On this same occasion the *cabildo* gave Morales 40 gold ducats as a *gratificación*. This large sum, surmises the author of the article here reviewed, was "surely given because it was feared Morales would leave Plasencia and never return". But the Plasencia document which serves as source designates the exact purpose of the gift: "para ayuda en el casamiento de su hermana", that is to help Morales with the costs of his sister's marriage.

After returning to Spain in 1545 Morales spent almost two years at Toledo. The author of the article under review has meticulously examined the Toledo notices and deserves congratulation for his effective interpretations, especially of the notices which have to do with Morales's application for reappointment in the primatial cathedral in 1553, shortly before his premature death. While not advancing any actually new data, he shows a logical chain of events behind the rather confusing data already gathered by F. Rubio Piqueras and printed in 'Música y músicos toledanos' (1922).

The next article in the present issue of 'Anuario Musical' deals with Morales's activities in and around Marchena during the years 1548-51. Gathered by Nicolás A. Solar-Quintes, who has already placed the musical world in his debt with his Domenico Scarlatti and Boccherini disclosures, the documents dealing with Morales's Marchena sojourn were examined in the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid. They show that in May 1548 Morales, acting as agent for his employer, the Duque de Arcos, purchased for the Marchena palace of the latter a *clavicordio*. The instrument cost 14 ducats, and Morales bought it at Seville. The next document shows that Morales visited Montilla on 4 February 1549, a town later made famous as the home of the last of the Inca princely family, Garcilaso de la Vega. Morales had at least two choirboys, a Rodrigo and a Martín, under his care while he directed the chapel music of the munificent Duque de Arcos. On 21 August 1550 Morales, while at Seville, signed a receipt for 48 measures of wheat, which formed a part of his subsistence payments. On 21 February 1551 he signed a similar receipt, but for 30 measures of barley delivered at Marchena. Not the least interesting disclosure in the present article, 'Morales en Sevilla y Marchena', is the first notice so far recovered concerning one of the greatest of Morales's successors, Juan Navarro. He is shown to have been a singer under Morales's direction in the ducal chapel. On 6 September 1549 he was paid two-thirds of his salary as ducal singer, which annually amounted to 10,000 *maravedis*. Thus it appears that both Francisco Guerrero and Juan Navarro were personal disciples of Cristóbal de Morales.

The evidence for Morales's teaching Guerrero comes from Jaén cathedral documents. When the latter was received at the unprecedented age of eighteen into the newly created Jaén chapel master's post, his appointment resulted directly from Morales's recommendation and

intervention. On 1 July 1546, shortly after the appointment, the Jaén *cabildo* met and ordered a letter to be sent to Morales, then at Toledo, telling him how handsomely his young protégé was then being treated. Morales—in 1546 probably the most famous musician in Spain—was especially effective in pleading Guerrero's cause with the Jaén *cabildo* because he himself in that year held a benefice in Jaén cathedral not requiring residence (A.C., III [1545–46], f. 62 v.).

The third article in 'Anuario Musical' VIII deals specifically with Morales's career in Rome. The author, P. José M. Llorens, has availed himself of the documentation from the so-called Sistine Diaries already printed by Mgr. Casimiri in 'Note d' Archivio'. He has carefully collated Casimiri's transcriptions and, though unable to adduce any strikingly new facts, does give an exceedingly well-rounded picture of musical life at the court of Pope Paul III. The present reviewer is under debt to P. Llorens for a clearer interpretation of the laconic phrase *Morales ad ripam* (p. 57), which occurs frequently in the Sistine notices. But P. Llorens has failed, in this reviewer's opinion, to prove that the Cristóbal de Morales whom Pope Clement VII favoured with a benefice in St. Martin's Church at Salamanca was the composer. As is said in the article, another Cristóbal de Morales was in Rome at that very moment acting as chaplain to the Count of Cifuentes (p. 61). The sum of P. Llorens's investigations is not yet complete, but they show at present that Morales's favours from Pope Paul III were oftener promises than fulfilments. Before leaving Rome Morales transferred his Pucudia benefice in the diocese of Cuenca (p. 64) to the violent Juan Sánchez, who is now remembered as the most choleric Spanish singer in the papal choir during the whole century. The first plate in P. Llorens's article shows several singers kneeling before the pope, but this reviewer awaits further evidence proving that the singer with the roll of paper in his hand was actually intended as a portrait of Morales.

The bounds of this review would be intolerably extended if individual notice were taken of each of the succeeding articles in the present 'Anuario'. 'La obra musical de Morales' suffers by contrast with the three articles that precede it. Several rudimentary errors occur. To name only those on pp. 76 and 77: 'Queramus cum pastoribus' is erroneously cited as a 6-voice Mass, 'Si bona' as a 5-voice; 'Tristezas me matan' is cited as appearing in Toledo MS 27, which it does not; the 'Fa re ut fa sol la' Mass is cited as different from the 'Missa Cortilla' whereas they are the same. On p. 76 the 'Missa Caça' from Medinaceli MS 607 is listed as by Morales and on p. 77 the same Mass is listed as anonymous. Item 19 duplicates 21 in the list of Masses on pp. 76–77. On the other hand one known Mass by Morales is not listed, although its existence was advertised by Professor Smijers as long ago as 1926 ('Werken van Josquin des Prés', 'Missa La Sol Fa Re Mi', p. VI), namely Morales's 'Missa De silde al cavallero' found at ff. 41 v.–50 of MS Mus. E. 46 in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

The author of 'La obra musical de Morales' attempts to date one or two other works than the two festal motets, but fails to tell us that the 6-voice 'Veni Domine et noli tardare' occurs in the Cappella Giulia MS XII, 4, at ff. q8 v.–100, a manuscript dated 1536, only one year after Morales entered the papal choir. Yet Smijers had noted this early date

more than a decade ago. The statement that 52 of Morales's "go-odd" motets remain extant only in manuscript (p. 79) cannot be maintained. In a letter written in January of 1955 Mgr. Anglès said the statement "la mayor parte de los motetes que Morales había compuesto quedaron manuscritos" (p. 80), should be changed to read "una grande parte . . .". If this change is made, then the last sentence in the same paragraph (p. 80) will also have to be changed. On p. 92 an unfortunate omission occurs under item 4; the madrigal 'Quando lieta sperai' was published as early as 1552 with an attribution to Cipriano de Rore and republished in Book III of Rore's 5-voice madrigals. It was again published by Angelo Gardane, with attribution to Rore, in 1593. Moreover, it has been reprinted as Rore's madrigal in Van den Borren's edition of Philippe de Monte's 'Quando lieta sperai' Mass (Bruges, 1933). In view of these facts, the present reviewer feels he has erred in accepting Mgr. Anglès's unqualified attribution of this madrigal to Morales (see 'Journal of the American Musicological Society', VII, 2, p. 141).

According to evidence presented in 'Ritmo', XI, No. 141 (*extraordinario*) Victoria returned to Spain possessed of benefices yielding him annually the large sum of 1200 ducats. The statement on p. 75 of the present 'Anuario' concerning Victoria's later years cannot be sustained, especially when it is remembered that Victoria refused two of the finest chapel master's posts in Spain, one at Seville (successor to Guerrero), the other at Saragossa (successor to Robledo). On p. 74 Mudarra's 'Tres libros' is incorrectly dated. Elsewhere there are signs that this article was hastily proof-read.

The fifth article in the present 'Anuario' is in German, 'Die Messen des Cristobal de Morales'. The author, Dr. G. A. Trumpff, states in a footnote that his article is a reworking of Part III in a 1938 Göttingen doctoral dissertation. Dr. Trumpff demonstrates (p. 120) that the 'Mente tota' Mass mentioned as Morales's in Zaconi's 'Prattica di musica', 1592 (III, 192), was actually a work by Willaert. The effect of this excellent article is marred by mechanical defects in the printing of the indispensable musical examples, all of which are reproduced from informal handwritten copy, often so reduced as to be illegible. Insufficient consideration was given to the table which summarizes Dr. Trumpff's results, inserted between pp. 152 and 153. It too can scarcely be read because reproduced, or rather drastically reduced, from an informal handwritten copy.

The disclosures in the article 'Palestrina y los "Magnificat" de Morales' resulted from discoveries made by the brilliant American priest now resident in Rome, Father L. Feininger, who observed that Palestrina added optional upper voice-parts to a half-dozen Magnificat movements by Morales. Opposite p. 65 a plate from Cap. Giul. MS VIII. 39 shows one of these, the 'Suscepit Israel' movement from the 'Magnificat Secundi Toni'. The six movements in question are transcribed on pp. 157-66, but the value of the transcriptions is vitiated by errors. The *altus* II on p. 160 is throughout printed an octave too low, making it appear as if Palestrina had written parallel fifths in his added voice-part. On p. 162, measures 24-25 contain faults in the *tenor*. On p. 163 the *cantus* is incorrectly transcribed in measure 5. On p. 166 the *bassus* is incorrectly transcribed in measures 23-24.

The article entitled 'Un villancico de Morales' discloses the fact that Morales's 'Si n'os oviera mirado' was printed as item 13 in the 'Cancionero de Upsala'. The ensuing article gathers a useful list of Morales allusions occurring in the Spanish theoretical treatises, only the comments in Tapia Numantino's 'Vergel de Música' being omitted from the compendious list.

The remaining four articles in the present 'Anuario' deal with topics extraneous to the main theme of the annual. Marius Schneider's penetrating study of the 'Cancionero de Palacio' as a source-book of popular melody, even though it proves that little connection can be established with surviving Spanish folksong, will prove useful to folklorists of all nationalities. Santiago Kastner, the most versatile linguist in the Spanish Institute, contributes a stimulating analysis of a hitherto unknown musical treatise by an Italian court musician resident in Madrid in the 1630s, Bartolomeo Giobernardi, who anticipated the improvements made in the harp by Gustave Lyon as recently as the twentieth century. He also perfected a *clavecin* in which seven different tone-colours were available without recourse to 16', 4' or 2' combinations. The fact that Giobernardi's treatise was found at the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional but is not listed in the first volume of the Anglès-Subirà catalogue suggests that other surprises may be awaiting the student of manuscripts preserved in the Spanish national library.

To sum up, this is an extraordinarily useful issue; with one or two possible exceptions the articles are carefully written and fully worthy of their important subject-matter. Though none is in English, the fact that one is printed in French and another in German proves the intention of the editor to reach out beyond Spain for contributors and also for readers.

R. S.

Conceptos fundamentales en la historia de la música. By Adolfo Salazar. pp. 249. (Revista de Occidente, Madrid, 1954. 60 pesetas.)

This is a new edition of a book that has had a deserved success. It first appeared in 1940 as the first work in the series issued by the Orquesta Sinfónica de México. Evidently it is the result of long meditation on cardinal points in musical development, and the author's conclusions on fundamental concepts are expressed with a clarity for which he has long been distinguished.

Of the four points of the musical compass by which our course has been steered—*monodia, polifonía, el dinamismo barroco* and *el impulso romántico*—it is notable that Dr. Salazar's best work has been achieved in the parts dealing with the first and third. This is probably due to his Latin quality of mind and to his Spanish point of vantage, in particular where these two themes are concerned. The concept of monody, from its far-eastern and near-eastern practice to romanesque ecclesiastical form, is dexterously traced. His familiarity with oriental residues in Spanish music and what these signify, also the proportion which he always keeps when describing movements of style over long periods, have proved of great benefit to Spanish-speaking readers, who have reason to be grateful to him for this widening of horizons which many, indeed, may be perceiving for the first time. The profound difference between the Eastern concept of simultaneousness and the organic sense of development under pressure from the harmonic urge of the West is

discriminatingly opposed in what he calls the first period of the great styles.

Up to this point there can be no disagreement with the author. More than half the work, however, is taken up with the romantic impulse, and here I am compelled to dispute, not his facts, but his interpretation of them, for the new concept is vitally concerned in this. The new musical impulse came from Beethoven; on that we all agree. But was the new concept a social-economic one, as Dr. Salazar says? Like other writers, he writes with less than his usual definition about Beethoven's achievement, of his tragic sense, mysterious grandeur and so on, and like them he does not place his finger exactly on the pulse. He is right, though, in stressing the gathering dynamic force of the baroque opera and symphony as a preparation for the romantic outburst. Beethoven's concept was so tremendous that no lesser structure could have borne the strain of it.

Picturesque and sentimental though the late eighteenth-century first awareness of nature may have been, as the author asserts, it deepened rapidly through thoughtful minds into a much more realistic conception. Quite acutely, Dr. Salazar looks again towards our little north-west corner and surmises that our lakeland poets had something to do with the change. His mention of English writers is indiscriminately over-full, but we are grateful for his attention; so far, so good. But though elsewhere—in the impressionist musicians' receptivity to the work of painters such as Monet—he gets behind appearances with happy results, he fails to see the place of Turner in shaping this new concept of art and nature. The parallel of Turner's long tentative studies in familiar moulds is only one of his likenesses to Beethoven; and in spite of all his love for eighteenth-century tradition his passion for truth forced him to break the links and led him to that positive point of departure where he had himself lashed to the mast of a ship so as to experience the full power of nature in a most terrifying storm at sea. Beethoven, however, went farther than the poets and their emotion remembered in tranquillity, and even farther than the painter, and it was the dynamic force which music had newly acquired which enabled him actually to establish this new concept and to establish it as a living experience through art in men. It was Goethe's "cosmic terror" with which he grappled.

By this concept, in all its simplicity, we arrive at a truer comprehension of Beethoven's successors, in an ordered relation which Dr. Salazar cannot, I feel, achieve within his economic impulse. Berlioz grew to giant stature in his efforts to sustain it; his so-called failure is probably the greatest *tour-de-force* in musical history. After him, the unity, the proportion of man for nature, became broken. Wagner was the cause of the trouble, and by his honesty, we may surmise. Evidently he felt the full cosmic terror during that storm in the North Sea, from which his 'Flying Dutchman' emerged. Realizing that, for him, at least, the only terror greater than this is the fear in man that he will fail even in that small part assigned to him in the scale of existence, Wagner set himself thenceforward to the making of a hero in music strong enough to endure it. The dwindling of his egotism into the megalomania of Richard Strauss *et al.* is almost inevitable after that and we may therefore perceive and express the two periods of the baroque and romantic in the familiar signs of *crescendo-diminuendo*.

A. L. L.

REVIEWS OF MUSIC

Jacobean Consort Music. Edited by Thurston Dart and William Coates.
'Musica Britannica', Vol. IX. (Stainer & Bell, London, 1955, 75s.)

This is one of the most important and valuable volumes of the series, both for the musical quality of its contents and for their almost total unfamiliarity, not only abroad, but here in their own country of origin.

The Jacobean consort music for the family of viols (and to a certain much smaller extent other instruments) was first restored to limited modern attention and enjoyment by Arnold Dolmetsch in the London concerts which so delighted George Bernard Shaw in the last decades of the nineteenth century. There have always been a few enthusiasts since that time for whom the best of it has ranked with the world's great chamber music; but hardly anyone has yet realized how extensive the resources are. The volume here under review will restore this body of neglected English chamber music to its natural position.

The editing of so great a collection is in the first place enormously laborious. Scholars and musicians throughout the world will be grateful for the sustained efforts of the joint editors and for the boldness of the Royal Musical Association in backing them. The quality of the editing is, of course, the crucial matter. It is extraordinarily easy to slip into wrong editorial decisions which can reduce and indeed almost nullify the value of such vast labours. Here we have been fortunate in our editors. The foundations of their work are sound, and these comments are confined to questions on which differences of opinion are to be expected and not of fundamental significance.

The choice of the music is most important. Bulky though the volume is, the editors were able to include in it only one work from every ten surviving, the standard of which must not be imagined, however, to be consistently high. A large proportion is fairly monotonous. The fantasy form, with its loosely fugal texture and sectional construction, is strong only when there is a considerable intensity and concentration of musical purpose to inspire it.

The editors decided to make their choice as representative as possible of what actually exists in the surviving manuscripts. Thus if a composer has ten works surviving, he gets one inserted here; if a hundred, then ten (not of course with mathematical exactness). In theory this should give much too much advantage to the merely prolific composers at the expense of slow but profound workers; in practice it seems to have worked out well on the whole, and it has indeed the very advantage claimed for it of giving a true cross-section of the manuscripts. We get a picture of the school in its strength and weakness alike.

For the broad and admirable purpose of 'Musica Britannica' it is perhaps important that the volume should reveal something of the unevenness as well as of the greatness of the school. In the editorial shoes I should myself have wished to confine it to what I think are masterpieces, each in its kind, but I can see that such an edition would have served a different purpose. From their own point of view the editors were right

in their decision, but right again in not pressing it to its logical conclusion. The proportion given to each composer is impartial, but the actual choice of examples has clearly rested, as it should rest, on musical selection. In particular, a fantasy of which the initial theme is melodically uninteresting is rarely redeemed by later themes or by rhythmic or harmonic features; and the few such in this volume, e.g. Nos. 8, 10, 38, 47 and 48 in varying degrees confirm the importance of this principle.

Coperario is a prolific composer, and therefore largely represented. He was the acknowledged leader of the Jacobean section of the school, and in one sense its founder. The resource and purity of his counterpoint is an unfailing pleasure, but it is a little heartless. His greatest fantasy, as I think, and that a very impassioned one and full of heart, is the one entitled 'Che pue mirarvi', and it is missing from this volume. These are, of course, matters of personal judgment rather than of criticism. It is of great value to find his important and very early violin music so well represented.

Lupo is a fluent composer of whom so many examples could hardly have been given without unevenness. Bevin and Milton (father of the poet) would hardly have got in at all on strictly musical merit. No. 25 is dull Ward and No. 28 dull Gibbons; and there are four- and five-part fantasies by Ferrabosco which I should like to have substituted for one or two included (one of the best of these latter, No. 129, here printed in a version for three *lyra viols*, interestingly enough also exists as a straight four-part fantasy). None of this matters; what does matter is that each of these composers is also represented by very fine specimens indeed, such as the splendid six-part Ferrabosco, No. 85, and his *Dovehouse Pavan*, No. 64. The best of Tomkins and of Anthony Holborne is included. Adson and Johnson contribute some really charming light pieces: it was a happy inspiration to explore the lighter dances as well as the graver fantasies, *In Nomines* and *pavans*. William Brade is interesting: working in Germany, he evidently wrote nothing in the English style of elaborate instrumental polyphony, and his pleasant contribution shows this style—so conservative in retaining the sixteenth-century polyphonic structure, yet so modern in its mood and harmony—had no parallel elsewhere in the seventeenth century.

It should be remembered that this volume does not extend in date to the Caroline and subsequent viol consorts, and that consequently it includes the work neither of John Jenkins nor of William Lawes. Of the Jacobean masters only Ferrabosco seems the equal of these two; of the school of English chamber music for the viols as a whole, these three seem to share the greatest pre-eminence between them.

The sources seem to be well collated. (The Fitzwilliam MS Marley Add. 15, containing fifty fantasies *a 5*—not *a 4*, as in Meyer's catalogue of 1934—attributed to John Bull, though curiously like Coperario in style—is not mentioned and seems not to have been seen or used.)

Editorial accidentals are a tricky matter satisfactorily handled. Their treatment may be just slightly too conservative—a fault so emphatically on the right side as to be cause for gratitude. Organ parts editorially composed or filled out are excellent and show a rare sense of style. (The editorial hesitation—cf. p. 219, n. 9—to add an organ part where none is

referred to in the sources was not really necessary, since all these fantasies were regarded as *optionally* admitting an organ part; or, come to that, as optionally dispensing with it, even when supplied in the sources, unless this is clearly obligatory in character.)

Note-values halved or quartered: a difficult decision. The music looks more familiar to a modern performer in this shape; but does that help him or does it hinder him in realizing where the interpretation *must* be unfamiliar if it is to be right for the music? Leave the original note-values, and you may find him taking everything too slowly and too heavily. Halve or quarter them, and you may find him taking everything not so much too fast as too sprightly. All tempos have really to be taken from the music: it is in any case impossible to try to tie them down.

Nevertheless, in going through this volume and trying to imagine its effect on a performer quite unfamiliar with the style, I found so few instances in which the change in notation struck me as misleading either for rhythm or for general mood, and so many where the impression made by the changed notation seemed quite natural, that I am perfectly prepared to believe that the editors may on balance have been wise in their decision here.

With one positively inspired exception (No. 98b) the editors have inserted perfectly normal modern barring—*i.e.* four common-time crochets to a bar, and so on. This was by far the most practical and desirable decision. There are hardly any bar-lines in the sources; those which are there are quite casual and inconsistent. It is possible for modern performers to play as the old ones did from unbarred parts; but it is not convenient ("sorry I got out—can we start at the two hundred and seventeenth crotchet from the beginning?"). It is also possible to try, as Fellows did, to indicate the actual rhythms and accentuation by means of deliberately irregular barring; but experience has shown that this was an editorial mistake. It makes conducting and place-keeping not easier but harder. The only thing the present editors might perhaps have added is a specific warning in their preface that their bar-lines were added as mere conveniences and in this kind of music should largely be ignored for purposes of rhythm and accentuation.

To reduce clefs to three in normal modern use was certainly right; but I doubt (and the editors point out that they themselves had doubts) whether it was right to use the G clef transposing to the octave below for their middle registers. We can no longer avoid this not very likeable transposing clef in vocal music, but the middle-register clef for viols which involves least leger-lines and least mental exercise is not the transposing G clef but the regular alto C clef as customary for the viola. But any reasonable clef is mainly a matter of familiarity, and the music is all there just the same.

Instruments are not often indicated in the sources, and the editorial suggestions are necessary and sound. I should, however, suggest that many of the more low-lying parts for which the editors suggest "tenor viol II" might be tried on a second gamba instead, especially in five- and six-part music. The effect is brighter and clearer, and this will often be advantageous. Moreover, it is worth noting that the alto viol can always with propriety and sometimes with advantage be replaced either (when the tessitura is high) by a treble viol or (when the tessitura

is low) by a tenor viol. One or two lowish *In Nomine* parts (the *canto fermo* itself) are here allotted to the alto, but may come through better on a treble in spite of the pitch, since the alto has the more veiled tone.

The statement (p. XV) that the early Tudor instrumental ensemble music "was not intended to be performed on viols" is surely an exaggeration. It was not intended to be *confined* to viols, like the great fantasies, *In Nomines* and pavans of the seventeenth century; but there is no reason to assume that the recorded arrival of Henry VIII's Italian viol players shortly before 1530 marks the beginning of English consort viol playing, and it would be interesting to know if any more positive evidence to this effect exists.

The question of performing viol consorts on other instruments is not discussed here, but it will obviously arise. The contemporary attitude was roughly to distinguish "grave musicke" (mostly with polyphony ranging from moderate to high complexity) from the "ayery kind" (more tuneful and less elaborately polyphonic). No bones were made about performing the latter on any suitable instruments; the former was certainly kept very consistently to the family of viols, and this accords with the musical realities. The great polyphonic fantasies in many parts are scored too thickly to sound at their best on violins. Nevertheless, modern string players will certainly wish to attempt them. Their main difficulty will be to get the polyphony clear. A transparent and rather incisive tone is helpful; and above all the habit of getting out of each other's way by quite steeply reducing the volume as soon as a fugal entry has been made—perhaps within a bar or less if the entries are closely packed.

Little help is given to the modern performer, no doubt rightly for the purpose of this edition. It was a good idea to mark a certain number of new phrase-beginnings by manipulating the tails of adjacent quavers or semiquavers; and so it was to show the disguised *canto fermo* entries in No. 79. But selected works from this edition are expected to be published subsequently in a performing edition. How much editorial help will be thought desirable for that different purpose? The editors dislike "wanton anachronistic bowings and expression marks", but anachronistic expression will result if no help is given, and anachronistic marks of expression may be a lesser evil. The chief question (as with other notational modernizations) is whether they truly serve the purpose. The following suggestions may help the newcomer to this music: enough dynamic markings to indicate one possible scheme of contrasts and to keep secondary material quieter than the main entries; a dot over those notes which it is most important to shorten for reasons either of phrasing or of articulation; the very few and short slurs compatible with this music; signs for the more important cadential trills and instructions somewhere on preparing and ending them correctly. Such markings may represent the limit of what can be conveyed without personal instruction; but this much does seem to help in avoiding that deadly monotony and confusion which is the worst anachronism of all and that most contrary to the contemporary evidence.

Although these pieces are all short by nineteenth-century standards, they are capable of importing a musical experience of the same order as our familiar classical string quartets. This is of course true only of the

best examples; but let the reader compare Ferrabosco's 'Dovehouse Pavan' (No. 64 in this volume, singled out by the editors for one of their rare expressions of praise) with a late Beethoven slow movement, and he will not find the comparison excessive. No team either here or elsewhere has yet played the viol consorts with the exactness, the depth of feeling and the tonal beauty of a front-rank string quartet, though one or two groups have gone some way towards it. For economic and other reasons we may have to wait some time for that experience; but the publication of this truly representative edition is a milestone the significance of which for English musical history will grow increasingly apparent.

R. D.

Beethoven, *Pianoforte Sonatas*. Edited from Autographs and First Editions by B. A. Wallner. Vol. I. (Henle-Verlag, Munich-Duisburg; Novello, London. 25s.)

Mozart, *New Collected Edition*. Series IX: Pianoforte Music. Group 24: Works for Four Hands. Part i: Works for Two Pianofortes. Edited by Ernst Fritz Schmid. (Bärenreiter-Verlag, Cassel & Basel; Novello, London. 12s.)

Reger, *Collected Edition*. Vol. XIV: Works for Two Pianofortes, Four Hands. Edited by Wolfgang Rehm. (Breitkopf & Hartel, Wiesbaden; British & Continental Music Agencies, London. £6.)

In the spate of definite editions which is now coming from German presses, and covers music of all periods, it is a curious coincidence that two of the most recent, Reger and Mozart, have both begun with a volume of works for two pianos, four hands. In these, as in the revised reprint of the Beethoven sonatas, the standard of editing is high, but in printing and production none of the three attains the best pre-war standard of German production. The Beethoven comes nearest to it. The Reger is proportionately by far the most expensive, even allowing for the comparatively small circulation that it will probably have. One cannot help wondering, incidentally, if a complete edition of Reger, barely forty years after his death, is really necessary. The corrections in this first volume (which contains the Variations on a theme of Beethoven, Op. 86, the Introduction, Passacaglia and Fugue, Op. 96, the reduction of the F minor piano Concerto, Op. 114, and the Variations on a theme of Mozart, Op. 132a) are on the whole slight. The critical notes record differences between the autograph and the first edition which consist mainly of phrasing, accidentals, tempo marking, lack of *staccato* marks and correction of inconsistencies in the spelling of words. The publication of the considerable bulk of Reger's unpublished music would be welcome and justifiable, but it seems unbusinesslike to charge such a high price for music most of which has been published not so very long ago by well-established and still active firms.

The first volume of the new Mozart edition contains the C minor Fugue, the D major Sonata and four fragments, including that of the majestic Sonata in B \flat major, K.375b. The accompanying volume of critical notes is not available for review, but a comparison of the two complete pieces with the old Breitkopf edition and other texts shows how thorough the recension has been. The old Breitkopf edition has been out of print for some time; it was hastily produced at a standard which was

good for its day, but took little account of variants or of the relation of printed editions to autographs and copies. The new edition will include in a uniform format all the works that have been discovered since 1905 and all important fragments. One can only wish this enterprise as speedy a consummation as is consistent with the demands of modern scholarship and hope that the volume of plates and illustrations ultimately to be issued will be better printed than are the two autograph facsimiles given in this new publication. Among the next works announced in a somewhat haphazard production scheme is 'Eine kleine Nachtmusik', edited from the autograph which has come to light after being lost for over a century.

The Beethoven sonatas first came out in 1952. Wallner's edition aimed at giving the music in a text that follows the autograph and first edition as faithfully as possible, with the minimum of editorial additions. This reprint contains a score or so of new annotations pointing out variants between the sources, with particular reference to editions after the first that appeared in Beethoven's lifetime. The corrections include re-spacing of expression marks, some new slurring or some alternative fingering of Beethoven's own. This is probably the best text available for study and performance.

A. H. K.

Winterreise. By Franz Schubert. Facsimile Reproduction of the Autograph. (Bärenreiter Verlag, Cassel & Basel, Mk. 48.00.)

It is not easy to review this facsimile publication of 'Winterreise' and keep strictly to the point. The rich background of the cycle—its composition, the manuscripts from Schubert's pen and their adventures during the nineteenth century, the first edition, the bibliographical literature, the mistakes made by experts who, no blame to them, were not in possession of every piece of information, all this is irrelevant and the reviewer should keep it at arm's length. And consideration of the ever-renewed, appealing beauty of the music is quite beside the point. All these things contribute to the fame of the 'Winterreise' songs and so have, finally, produced this publication; in that sense they have a certain relevance. But in truth the facsimile itself provides so much material for discussion that it is hardly necessary to refer to its background at all.

'Die Winterreise' wrote Wilhelm Müller, the poet. He published twelve poems in 1823; the whole cycle, amplified to twenty-four poems, a year later. Schubert encountered the 1823 publication at the beginning of 1827 and set to work on it at once—"gasping with fearful joy" says Capell unforgettable, "over his tragic 'Winterreise', at his luck in the subject, at the beauty of the chance that brought him his collaborator back, at the countless fresh images provoked by this poetry of fire and snow, of torrent and ice, of scalding and frozen tears". A few months later, it is not known by what means, the composer came across Müller's complete cycle of twenty-four poems, and set to music the remaining twelve.

Schubert's autographs of the twenty-four songs remained with the publisher, Tobias Haslinger of Vienna, passing eventually from his widow to Karl Meinert of Dessau, from him to Siegfried Ochs of Berlin (whose signature can be seen in the facsimile), and eventually to Mr. Louis Koch of Aargau, Switzerland. A few years ago the eleventh song of the cycle,

'Frühlingstraum', was reproduced in facsimile; now the whole work has been photographed and reproduced by the Bärenreiter Verlag. The anonymous "postlude" to the edition refers to the owner of the autograph (discreetly?) as a "private possessor"—as if the fact of Mr. Koch's ownership were not of universal knowledge. This postlude, actually, gives little of the information which a student might require and ventures several statements which are controversial; it distinguishes a little too glibly between Schubert's compositional sketches and his fair copies. He used two inks, easily discerned in the facsimile; the "later" one is darker than the other. But in the postlude too much is deduced from them.

The beautifully reproduced pages in this facsimile will mislead the casual glancer. Schubert's second twelve songs, composed in October 1827, are bound in with the first twelve as if all the songs were written consecutively in a kind of "Album". The two halves were, in fact, completely independent; even the type of music paper used is different: 16 staves in the first part, 12 staves in the second. The first part of the cycle—'Winterreise', as Schubert called it—is very differently written out from the second part. It is—not to put too fine a point on it—a bit of a muddle. Some of the songs are "fair copies", that is, they are either copied out from pre-existing sketches, or were complete in Schubert's head and hands, and only needed writing down. 'Gute Nacht', the first song, and 'Rückblick', the eighth, are in this category. Others, like 'Der Lindenbaum' and 'Gefrorne Tränen', were written down as fair copies, but Schubert's second thoughts—and in the case of 'Der Lindenbaum' the second thoughts were truly those of a genius—were scribbled into (or out of) the existing song. But other songs again were clearly composed on the paper. The second song, 'Die Wetterfahne', is a remarkable example of flashes of inspiration made visible, as it were, and studying the emergence of this wonderful song from the first elementary ideas can be an engrossing experience. Mr. Winton Dean has protested, and rightly, of course, against the view that Schubert's sketches make him the self-conscious workman that we find in Brahms or Hugo Wolf. It is doubtful, however, whether any slow, technical reshaping of material such as is revealed in the sketch-books of Beethoven provides anything as exciting as Schubert's pounce—*en passant*—on a poetic or emotional scrap of melody or harmony with which to enrich or elevate the song he is creating. We see him, too, concerned with many problems of balance or emphasis, both textual and musical, in these songs. The idea prevalent in the 1920s and 1930s and still occasionally met with in the work of older critics like Mr. Ernest Newman, that Schubert is chained to a "four-bar" metre, either melodically or rhythmically, is seen to be quite false when one views his work as whole, particularly the songs of the 'Winterreise'.

In spite of the untidy state of the first twelve songs, Schubert handed them to the publisher during the summer of 1827, and the result can be foreseen. The manuscript was rejected as indecipherable. It is not easy to see the knotty parts of the songs with the eyes of Haslinger's engraver, since we know all the answers, so to speak. But a copy had to be made by a professional copyist, and then it was handed back to Schubert for approval. He not only made essential corrections (and in some cases left mistakes uncorrected!), but materially altered a few of the songs. Part I

of the 'Winterreise' was engraved from this amended copy and appeared as Op. 89 early in 1828. The engraver's copy temporarily disappeared.¹

It is hoped that the relevance of this apparent digression may now be made obvious. To those who buy this facsimile it is necessary to give the warning not to compare its pages with printed editions of the songs and find in them all kinds of "mistakes". This was done by Max Friedlaender in 1884, by Eusebius Mandyczewski in 1894 and by Erwin Schaeffer as recently as 1938. These eminent commentators were unaware of the existence of the engraver's copy which, passing from Schubert's hands in October 1827, was the source of the first edition. Schubert's most remarkable alteration can be seen in the song which already forms such an interesting study in his autograph—'Die Wetterfahne'—at the words "Er hätt' es eher bemerken sollen, des Hauses aufgestecktes Schild".

The second part of the facsimile, from 'Die Post' to 'Der Leermann', is a fair copy by Schubert (evidently determined not to repeat his experience with Part I). There is no more pleasing hand amongst the great composers than Schubert's: it has style and authority. Apart from a few changes in tempo indications, and one interesting, last-minute change in the harmony of 'Im Dorfe', there are no problems to be found in this Part II. Commenting on the manuscript of Schubert's song 'Im Abendrot', Mandyczewski once said that it was "extraordinarily neat and most lovingly written". The same could be said of the last song here, the immortal 'Der Leermann'. The penning of the manuscript is exquisite: not a detail but is given affectionate care.

Two problems occurred to me while browsing on this facsimile, one small and one big. The small one concerns the two concurrent rhythms in the song 'Wasserflut', the quaver triplet and the dotted quaver-with-semiquaver. Mainly, the first one is in the voice part, the second in the accompaniment; but there are a few places when both rhythms are in the pianoforte part. Readers may recall that a short while ago Mr. Martin Cooper raised the matter in 'The Daily Telegraph' because at a recent London recital of 'Winterreise' the pianist, Mr. Peter Gellhorn, played the two rhythms as if they were identical, merely being given two different notations by the composer. Schubert's autograph of the song will not decide the matter: the writing out of the notation suggests that Schubert thought of them as now the same, now different.

Discussion of the other problem can conclude this review. Since Schubert originally composed a 'Winterreise' of twelve songs—the first twelve of the sequence as we have it to-day—are we justified in looking upon each half of the cycle as an independent composition? Part I was finished early in 1827; at the end of the twelfth song, 'Einsamkeit', he wrote "Fine". He then sent these songs to the publisher as Op. 89. His friend, Josef von Spaun, writing of the events of those days, tells us that Schubert called his friends together to hear a group of "schaurlichen" ("gruesome") songs, and then sang to them the *whole* of the 'Winterreise'; but they could only have heard this Part I. Although the key scheme is varied, the songs begin and end in D minor ('Gute Nacht' and 'Einsamkeit'). The transposition of the latter song was not

¹A full account of this copy and its importance to the realization of the 'Winterreise' can be found in 'The Musical Quarterly', April 1953.

Schubert's original idea. Several months elapsed before he encountered Müller's additional poems and began work on the next part of the cycle. Much has been written on his alteration of Müller's order of poems, but this is due to ignorance of the facts; Müller's extra poems are inserted into the original twelve, not just put on to them. Schubert's only alteration is to put the song 'Mut' forward to separate the similar moods of 'Die Nebensonnen' and 'Der Leiermann'.

And so I think it is possible that Schubert may have conceived the second twelve songs as forming a sequel to Part I of the cycle, connected of course, but independent, much as we consider Shakespeare's 'Henry IV, Part ii' in relation to 'Henry IV, Part i'. For example, the song which opens Part II is 'Die Post', and Schubert calls it "No. 1" —not "No. 13", and certainly he does not reshuffle the numbering to bring his songs into line with his poet's. The songs of Part II are numbered again, from 1-12. Moreover, if it were Schubert's intention that the two separate halves of the cycle should be separately performed, how many well-known problems that would solve! Particularly the problem of 'Die Post'. To quote Capell again:

This twelfth song, 'Die Post', is the problem of the 'Winterreise'. We hear the horn's cheerful call on the notes of the E flat chord; it is a merry piece, or at least it has to be very cautiously treated not to become one. . . . The song is dated October 1827. With it Schubert took up again the cycle whose first part he had composed in February. Perhaps he did not call to mind at once the passion and significance with which he had been charging the songs. . . .

But perhaps his idea was a different one altogether. If 'Die Post' is to be the *opening* of a cycle of songs, then there is nothing before it—present in the minds of its hearers—of passion or significance, and it serves very well to set the scene of a jilted lover setting forth on a journey of forgetfulness. And the intellectual, emotional and physical strain on singer, pianist and audience alike would be considerably eased if we could have performances of either one or the other of the two parts, and not both together.

The publication of this facsimile, and the accessibility of the engraver's copy mentioned above, a photostat of which is at the Vienna Nationalbibliothek, make possible a new, critical edition of 'Winterreise', which would fully realize Schubert's intentions. It is long overdue, and would be welcomed by singers as well as students of the song-cycle.

M. J. E. B.

Florilegium Musicum. Edited by Gustav Scheick and Hugo Ruf: C. P. E. Bach, *Sonatas in B flat major and G major* for flute and continuo, 5s. 6d. each. *Sonata in D major* for flute and cembalo obbligato, 7s. *Sonata in G minor* for oboe and continuo, 6s.; Handel, *Sonatas in C minor and G minor* for oboe and continuo, 5s. 6d. and 6s.; Michel de La Barre, *Suite in G major* for two flutes, 5s. (Ricordi.)

The very great merit of this new edition of chamber music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, apart from its inclusion of pieces rarely accessible, is that it makes a determined attempt to provide the performer with an historically justifiable interpretation of ornaments and note-lengths, and—most important of all—with slow movements properly embellished. In this last respect one difficulty will remain that no editor can obviate: however premeditated some eighteenth-century extemporisations may have been, their executants could play freely without

fear of anachronism. We ought indeed to clothe the bare and unenticing bones of a Handel slow movement, but much is lost if the player is seen to be peering self-consciously at the unfamiliar demi-semiquavers.

There must clearly be an uncomfortable transition period, and this edition will be invaluable in shortening it. It would be tedious and unfair to criticize what *par excellence* are matters of taste, especially as an editor of a performing edition has no space for pros and cons; but it should be noted that there is a marked tendency to prefer short to long appoggiaturas even in slow movements. However, the original (or what must pass for it) is always clearly shown—in the score, with the interpretation in the part. Another endlessly debatable matter is the upper auxiliary note to trills. In the "performing" part this is often written out (by the usual preliminary "grace-note") with the implication that when it is not so written the trill should begin on the main note. But this often occurs at places where the upper auxiliary is arguable and even desirable.

Though all the music is well worth a place, mention should be made of the delicious Suite for two flutes (with sensible directions for *notes inégales*) and of the G major Sonata by C. P. E. Bach with its virile and surprising second movement.

I. K.

In Memoriam Dylan Thomas. Dirge-Canons and Song for Tenor, String Quartet and four Trombones. By Igor Stravinsky. Miniature Score and Vocal Score. (Boosey & Hawkes, 3s. and 3s. 6d.) *Concerto pour batterie et petit orchestre.* By Darius Milhaud. Arranged for Percussion and Piano. (Universal Edition, 6s. 6d.)

Stravinsky continues with the serialization of his old method of composition in successions of minute phrases. Like most post-war serial writing it is inspired less by Schoenberg than by Webern, who for Stravinsky would obviously be temperamentally and technically more congenial than any of the other original serialists, and for whom he is said to be full of enthusiasm. But, as might be expected, Stravinsky has more of his own to say, and more originality to bring to serial technique than the Liebermanns or the Vlads, and in spite of its similar Webernian derivation, his writing has little resemblance to their futile note-spinning, having far fewer notes and far more thematic substance. As in the Cantata and the Septet, the serial nature of 'In Memoriam' is little more than an inevitable property of strict canonic writing. Its technical significance and, almost certainly, its main technical interest for Stravinsky, as well as its particular musical quality, lie much more in the canonic texture and structure than in the almost coincidental serial technique—although the complexity and multiplicity of the canonic parts and entries, the consistent use of all four forms of the canon theme, the use of this solely as a melodic, not a rhythmic shape, and the free movement of the parts from one octave to another, all disguise the canonic and enhance the serial character of the music. Thematically and technically the work is easily analysed. It consists entirely (both the song and the instrumental dirge-canons that form the prelude and postlude) of canonic entries of the four forms of a five-note series (E, E \flat , C, C \sharp , D), which, as in other recent works, are kindly marked by the composer for the student's benefit in the miniature score (not in the vocal score). What varied appearances these entries take on, and how they are interwoven and

sealed together in continuous contrapuntal lines, cannot be described, but must be marvelled at in the score. And what a musical range the composer has been able to command, what a fascinating sound, satisfying form and varied, moving expression he has achieved, with his five notes, in the six minutes that the work lasts can be communicated only by performance—as, one hopes, it often will be.

Milhaud's work is little longer (seven minutes), and equally fascinating. It was written in 1930 and is in one of his most attractive styles, rather Stravinskian in its dynamic quality and thematic primitiveness, with a few sharp, dry dissonant chords and fragmentary, sometimes angular, melodic shapes, insistently repeated and regrouped. It is very much a work of that salutary post-war decade or so from which far too much superb experimental music has since been discarded. This is one example that ought to be put on show again at an I.C.A.-B.B.C. concert, or at Morley College—preferably in a complete programme of works by this uneven but most original composer.

C. M.

Winter Words (Thomas Hardy). For Voice and Piano. By Benjamin Britten. (Boosey & Hawkes, 8s.) *Symphonic Suite 'Gloriana'*. By Benjamin Britten. Full Score. (Boosey & Hawkes, 30s.) *Three's Company: an Improbable Opera*. By Antony Hopkins. Vocal Score. (Chester, 21s.) *Sinfonietta*. For two Oboes, two Horns and Strings. By Malcolm Arnold. Miniature Score. (Paterson, 3s. 6d.) *Divertimento*. For Cello and Piano. By Elizabeth Maconchy. (Lengnick, 5s.) *String Quartet No. 4, in A minor*. By William Wordsworth. Score. (Lengnick, 8s.) *String Quartet No. 1*. By Robert Simpson. Score. (Lengnick, 8s.)

The point was made when 'Winter Words' was first performed at the last Leeds Festival that it was simply a collection or suite of songs, not a "cycle". But it was performed, and may well be regarded, as a coherent cycle, for the eight poems are bound by a sadly humorous tone of irony and compassion, and in the tonal sequence of the settings Britten makes a satisfying circle from the D minor of the first to the D major of the last—the two most profound, new, original, and the only non-pictorial songs in the set. A similar correspondence of mood and key exists between the second song and the seventh, both "railway" songs, in (more or less) C minor and C major respectively, the one brilliantly depicting in the accompaniment the movement of the train, the other the tuning of the boy traveller's violin. The four inner songs are unrelated and, with one exception (No. 5), rather slighter.

The impression that some of the songs gave, in performance, of belonging, in style at least, to an earlier period of Britten's development, is now accounted for, if not confirmed. No. 4 ('The Little Old Table') uses the same harmonic trick of quickly alternating false relations as 'Villes' in 'Les Illuminations'. There is a slighter similarity between No. 1 ('At Day Close in November') and Sonnet XXX (No. 3) of the Michelangelo Sonnets, in the use of clashing triads. And No. 8 ('Before Life and After'), in Britten's familiar "serene" vein, with the melody floating high above softly and tranquilly repeated common chords, is distantly like 'Antique', 'Being Beauteous' and 'Départ' in 'Les Illuminations', or No. 6 of the Donne Sonnets, although in mood it is nearer to the last song in both the Donne and the Michelangelo sets, and

in the same key as the latter, D major, one of Britten's favourite early keys—the main key of the String Quartet No. 1, the piano Concerto, violin Concerto, 'Sinfonia da Requiem' and the last song of the 'Serenade', as well as the main key of 'Gloriana', with which the new songs are more or less contemporary.

But these familiar characteristics appear in a richer context. There is an even greater harmonic power and tonal breadth, as in the last verse of the first song, where the voice, above an accompaniment that is basically a sustained simultaneous tonic-dominant harmony in D minor, tortuously descends from the dominant to the tonic, through perfect cadences in G minor, F major, E minor, finally falling on to the tonic through a Phrygian E \flat . With the exception of the last verse of the last song, which has a similarly sustained tonal tension, there is nothing else quite as remarkable as this, but there is a good deal that is new, especially in the railway songs, and still more that is characteristically, familiarly and movingly beautiful, especially in No. 5 ('The Choirmaster's Burial'), which is in another of Britten's "serene" styles, this time that of Billy Budd's last song, or parts of 'Abraham and Isaac', with very simple common-chord harmony in a simple but inimitable texture of smooth arpeggios. This should prove Britten's most popular set of songs with piano, and almost a competitor of the 'Serenade'.

The 'Gloriana' symphonic suite preserves some of the good things from this fine and unjustly abused opera—the magnificent Prelude and Courtly Dances, as well as the Lute Song (with optional solo oboe as an alternative to the voice), and the final pages, in which various themes, particularly from the Lute Song, are recalled. It is very welcome, though not enough of the opera. Hopkins's 'Three's Company', a skilful piece of frivolity for three characters, with piano accompaniment, that was aimed at a particular market (the starved small-town audiences of the Intimate Opera Company), but seems to have found a rather bigger and more general one. It is very much school humour, with music to match, but effective in its cheaply facetious way. Arnold is another of our facetious composers, with a slightly more attractive sense of humour and more invention. Some of the 'Sinfonietta' is like "classical" Prokofiev adulterated, but other parts have a pleasant wit or not unpleasant sentimentality that make it faintly amusing. Maconchy's 'Divertimento' is equally faintly diverting, not with wit or humour but with its naive delight in harmonic puns and happy onomatopoeic play with equivocal, falsely related or abruptly unrelated harmonies, often common chords or ambiguous thirds. Wordsworth's Quartet is much the same in harmonic character, though rather tamer, and much more solemn about itself. It is effectively written and very consistent, but its consistency is that of monotony (as well as that of a lack of distinction, strength and substance in the themes), and its effect that of twisting round and round in very small circles. Simpson takes himself even more seriously, but with more justification, for although his language is still more conservative it is not trivial or facile, his themes have some individuality, distinction and range of character, and in their intensive and extended (rather too extended) development there is a sense of harmonic and tonal movement and hence of live formal growth, not mere jingling and decorative pattern-making.

C. M.

Symphony No. 6, Op. 80. By Edmund Rubbra. Miniature Score. (Lengnick, 10s.) *Processional* for orchestra and organ. By Arthur Bliss. Miniature Score. (Novello, 4s.) *Goblin Market* (Christina Rossetti), cantata for two sopranos, women's chorus and string orchestra. By Ruth Gipps. Vocal Score. (Novello, 6s. 6d.) *Sonata* for viola and piano, Op. 6. By John Joubert. (Novello, 8s.) *Five Invocations* (John Fletcher and John Webster) for tenor and piano. By Hubert du Plessis. (Novello, 5s.) *Prelude, Elegy and Toccata* for piano. By Norman Fulton. (Lengnick, 5s.) *Symphony in B minor* for organ. By Alec Rowley. (Novello, 6s.)

In his sixth Symphony Rubbra, long a master in this field, is happily at ease with himself, with his forms and with his colours, and in consequence we can feel the rare and pleasurable thrill of being held in so untrembling and certain a grasp. This effect of clarity and certainty is enhanced by the bright scoring and the happy diatonic tunes. Lest this praise should be counted as damnation in those quarters where "extravert" is the fashionable term of mild abuse, it should be added that the work is cunningly constructed with many subtle cross-references and the derivation of much material from the falling fifth which is prominent at the beginning. The composer is at pains, however, to make these transformations clearly audible and, musically speaking, dramatic. They are not simply a composer's means of keeping going; there is plenty of straw for the bricks. The work has not unnaturally already had quick success and will doubtless deservedly have more.

Sir Arthur Bliss is a far from perfunctory composer of occasional music, and in his 'Processional', written for the 1953 Coronation, he offsets the traditional style of broadly concordant harmonies with several touches of imagination. He has avoided the massive shade of Elgar by adopting a basic 3-4 time, *andante maestoso*. The piece may be found somewhat sectional for concert use.

In 'Goblin Market' Ruth Gipps has given women's choirs something more substantial (nearly thirty minutes) than most of their repertory affords, and, though not unreasonably, more taxing technically. Some of these pitfalls are rhythmic ones, but since they spring from a true feeling for verbal rhythms they can soon be dealt with. The piano arrangement in the vocal score is itself an excellent accompaniment, but otherwise a string orchestra is needed.

John Joubert's viola Sonata is a closely-knit piece of music, each movement springing from substantially the same motif. What is more, the remarkable and successful first movement is largely in a canon of toccata-like vigour. The middle movement is an impassioned elegy and the third is full of rhythmic fireworks, although the material is ridden rather hard. Some players might feel that the *cantabile* genius of their instrument has short rations, but the voice of a real composer is audible.

Herbert du Plessis knows how to make a powerful musical effect, and in his 'Invocations' he is not afraid to match the dreadful splendour of the words with big gestures and some fine, though not easy, piano writing. Singers should be warned that there is a good deal of declamation to tricky notes and rhythms, but the songs, well done, are bound to be compelling.

Norman Fulton writes well for the piano in his 'Prelude, Elegy and Toccata'. Though it uses nineteenth-century methods of figuration (and what better?), its harmony and rhythms are dashing and it makes a good concert piece.

Alec Rowley's organ "symphony" has its surprises. The look of the page evokes Rheinberger in the first movement, Vierne in the second, but the work, which is neither long nor difficult, undoubtedly has individuality, particularly in the odd combination of bucolic dance and chromatic fugue in the finale.

I. K.

Divertimento per 11 strumenti. By Roman Vlad. Full Score. (Boosey & Hawkes, 25s.) *Concerto.* For Jazz Band and Symphony Orchestra. By Rolf Liebermann. Miniature Score. (Universal Edition, 12s. 6d.) *Klavierstücke, No. 2.* By Karlheinz Stockhausen. (Universal Edition, 6s.) *Andante sostenuto.* For Piano solo, Wind and Percussion. By Nikos Skalkottas. Miniature Score. (Universal Edition, 8s. 6d.) *Ten Sketches.* Suite for String Quartet. By Nikos Skalkottas. Miniature Score. (Universal Edition, 6s.) *Five Prayers.* For S.S.A.A. By Ernst Krenek. Score. (Universal Edition, 2s. 3d.) *Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüchtig.* Chorale Motet on a Tune and Words by Michael Franck for 2 S. 2 A. 2 T. 2 B. By Anton Heiller. Score. (Universal Edition, 3s. 6d.)

Jingling becomes jangling in Vlad's 'Divertimento', a work of the same brand of febrile (this word occurs as a direction in the score), navel-gazing post-dodecaphony as is found in Liebermann and to some extent in Martin and Dallapiccola—a derivation from Hauer, through Webern, in which the note-series is arranged in several similar or identical and often symmetrical chords that the composer may invert, interchange and otherwise juggle with as much as he likes, theoretically changing and mixing all four forms of the series, without really ever changing the harmony. The chord in this work is the diminished seventh, and the music consists almost entirely of repetitions of the three transpositions of this in their various inversions—with arpeggios of them for melody. It is even more remorseless, primitive and monotonous than Liebermann's exploitation of the chord of the combined French and German augmented sixth in his piano Sonata, which seemed at the time the farthest that could be gone in that direction.

Liebermann himself shows up rather better in the jazz-band Concerto, a work commissioned by the Südwestfunk, Baden-Baden. It is scored for a sixteen-piece jazz-band, which plays a "jump", a "blues", a "boogie-woogie" and a "mambo", with a fairly large symphony orchestra (triple woodwind) that provides an introduction, two scherzos and an interlude, separating the jazz numbers, and occasionally accompanies or doubles the band. The music is based on a twelve-note series that falls into two six-note chords, each of which is the symmetrical inversion of the other. These are further subdivided into two groups of three notes—one of superimposed perfect fourths (or fifths), the other a major third plus a major second. Thus, although there is complete symmetry between the two halves of the series, there is not complete internal symmetry within each half. There is still a good deal, of course, and the possibilities of symmetrical arrangements and serial punning are great; but there are also considerable possibilities of asymmetrical arrangements.

which prevent some of the harmonic monotony of the piano Sonata. Moreover the six-note chord itself, and its subdivisions, have a certain harmonic hardness and cool, strong dissonance that make the harmonic atmosphere less enervating and boring than the continuous luscious mild near-tonal dominant-like dissonance of the Sonata. There is very little true melodic interest and no melodic variety, but the work as a whole seems to have sufficient virility and punch to arouse at least a mild interest in hearing it once.

The Stockhausen pieces are at the other extreme of post-Webernism—the arithmetical kind. They make the Liebermann Sonata sound like Rakhmaninov's Prelude in C \sharp minor, and Webern's Variations seem as easy to play as 'The Bluebells of Scotland' (simplified version). The difficulty is mainly rhythmic. The first bar is marked 5-4, which seems easy, except that there are eleven quavers in the bar. There are however figures, dotted lines and colons above and below the stave that seem to indicate that the eleven quavers are to be played, all equally in the time of ten, like triplet quavers in the time of two. This is still comparatively easy, as both hands have the same rhythmic pattern, and the player is not called upon to play eleven against the actual ten. But halfway through the bar further symbols show that the last five of these eleven quavers are not five at all, but seven, again presumably to be played equally in the time of those five. Here again there is no actual cross-rhythm between the hands, as both have to play the seven quavers, but the time of the five quavers, unlike that of the ten for the bar as a whole, is now fixed in relationship to the preceding six. The second bar is marked 2-4, but again there are not four but five quaver units, to be played equally in the time of four (and each unit is further subdivided into five). Only in the third bar, marked 3-4, does the basic quaver unit appear, and it is even now disguised under a sustained minim. The value of this non-appearing basic quaver must however be firmly established in the player's mind before he can attempt to play even so far—and still worse follows. The only way in which the relationship of the actual note-values to this basic unit, and to each other, could be expressed in time signatures for these three bars (and it is essential for the player to grasp and feel these relationships) would be (if this interpretation of the symbols and the calculations based on them are correct) as follows:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} 6 \times \frac{10}{11} + 7 \times \frac{10}{11} & 5 \times \frac{4}{3} & 3 \times 2 \\ 8 & 8 & 8 \end{array}$$

To continue this throughout the piece would call for more arithmetic than any reviewer, or player, could find time for, and more, for that matter, than either need regard as an essential part of his professional equipment, though it would be merely a matter of hard labour. The composer might maintain that it should be done not by calculation but by spontaneous rhythmic feeling, but it seems doubtful whether this is possible, though a very talented player, with an exceptional sense of time, might get as far as the end of the first bar. The composer directs that the pieces should be played "as fast as possible". It would be interesting to have the relative note-values precisely recorded by a calculating machine, and to test whether any musician, not excluding the composer, could accurately reproduce them at any speed whatever. The musical texture is otherwise relatively simple, clear and spare, sometimes

even tenuous, and the dodecaphonic technique is complex and inventive. Although it is impossible to come to any conclusion about the total musical content or value, and the unplayable rhythms cannot be taken seriously in a work intended to be performed by other than electronic means, more genuine musical composition seems to have gone into it than into Vlad or Liebermann.

So it has into Skalkottas's 'Andante sostenuto', which, although its serial technique is complex, belongs to the pre-war dodecaphonic tradition and is in character and technique somewhere between Schoenberg and Berg. There is a Schoenbergian contrapuntal multiplicity and independence of parts, combined with a Bergian indulgence in luscious, vaguely tonal, consonant-dissonant, dominant-flavoured harmony, and often an almost Bartókian dynamic chordal texture. It brings no addition of technique or language to our experience, only the addition of its personality—but that seems distinctive and impressive. The 'Sketches' are lighter and slighter, but show similar virtues, and in spite of their brevity have a substance and formal precision that almost belie their title. Both works look worth making a special effort to hear.

Křenek's work (to words by Donne), composed in 1944, is only partly twelve-note. The first of the prayers is preceded by the Pater Noster, set to a twelve-note series sung in unison in its four forms in succession, plus some repeated phrases. This forms a *cantus firmus* for the five prayers, which are not otherwise twelve-note, although they use phrases from the series and imitations of them. The series itself is easily singable, with strong, simple intervals, and the harmonic and melodic structure of the whole work is in keeping, equally strong and plain. It is beautifully consistent, practical, effective, and looks satisfying to hear as well as to sing. Heiller's motet (not twelve-note) is a much more difficult work in every respect, especially to sing, but seems similarly strong in choral effect and, except for one or two facile modernisms, more personal and distinctive in musical language and style. The texture is mainly contrapuntal, with a very considerable melodic range and freedom (without too much easy imitation between the parts), great flexibility of rhythm without metrical complexities, and often bold and complex harmony produced by the movement of the parts.

C. M.

Serenade for Clarinet and Orchestra. By Endre Szervánszky. Miniature Score. *Concerto* for Viola and Orchestra. By Gyula Dávid. Miniature Score. *Concerto* for Violin and Orchestra. By Rezső Kókai. Arranged for Violin and Piano. *Concerto* for Piano and Orchestra. By János Viski. Arranged for two Pianos. (All Zeneműkiadó Vállalat, Budapest, no prices given.)

The Szervánszky work has the most individuality and is ideologically the least slavishly conformist of these four. Among a host of very competent and eclectic composers working in Hungary to-day, Szervánszky is writing by far the most distinctive, original and, in the sense of getting away from the oppressive influence of Bartók, Kodály and folksong, the most "positive" and "progressive" music. The clarinet Serenade, which is typical of his recent music, wears its nationalism very lightly and is altogether more extrovert and "objective" than any Hungarian music

there has yet been. It has a genuinely neo-classical urbanity and gaiety, as free from frivolity or "optimistic" bombast as from introspective gloom and neurotic intensity—although the slow movement is very expressive. Szervánszky seeks to make his work happy for æsthetic rather than political reasons, and the result is very refreshing. The viola Concerto by Dávid comes nearest to it in tone and character, and is for that reason fairly congenial, but unlike Szervánszky he has no personality, and in getting rid of all the things that Szervánszky has discarded he has reduced his music to a machine-like, featureless smoothness. But even no personality is better than a borrowed one, which is the best the other two works can boast. They are careful copies, half of Bartók, half of Kodály, sincere, well done, and valueless—like, let it be said in fairness to them, a large proportion of the other worthy music reviewers must ever seek to discuss not too unkindly.

C. M.

Hispanic Folk Songs of New Mexico: with Selected Songs Collected, Transcribed and Arranged for Voice and Piano. By John Donald Robb. pp. 83. (University of Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1954. \$2.00.)

The United States used to be called a melting-pot, and we see the process of fusion still taking place before our eyes, but there remain unassimilated elements that obstinately preserve traditions of European, African and Indian origins. The folksongs of British, Creole and Negro provenance have been assiduously collected and are safely recorded in one form or another. The present little collection in print is a selection from a much larger collection on phonograph records of Spanish songs from the southern state of New Mexico. It contains several Christmas songs, one of them, 'Las Posadas', apparently derived from a mystery play brought over by the first Spanish settlers and one of them an ordinary carol; there is one powerful ballad of adultery on the lines of 'Little Matty Groves'; there is a lament, and there is something technically called an *indita*, a modern made-up folksong in the raw state, with native Indian influence still traceable in the Spanish song (which is what *indita* means).

The tunes are modal, often pentatonic, not as a rule very obviously Spanish in rhythm. The collector has fitted them with modern piano accompaniments, most of them satisfying those strange indefinable canons of suitability. His annotations conform to what are regarded as orthodox views in this country, where we are rather strict about such things, on origins, characteristics and editorial method. This is, in fact, a volume of sufficient interest to make us ask for more of the songs collected by Mr. Robb to be made available.

F. H.

The following new miniature scores have been received (Eulenburg, London, Zürich, Stuttgart and New York):

Bizet, *Jeux d'enfants*, suite for orchestra. 4s. 6d.

Bruckner, Symphony No. 4, in E flat major. 9s.

Heinichen, *Concerto grosso*, G major. 3s.

Rózsa, *Theme, Variations and Finale* for full orchestra. Op. 13. 10s.

Weber, *Concertino* for clarinet and orchestra, Op. 26. 4s.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of 'Music & Letters'

PURCELL SOCIETY

(from Professor Anthony Lewis)

Sir,

The Committee of the Purcell Society is at present engaged on the task of completing the collected edition of the works of the composer. For this purpose those undertaking the editorial work urgently require access to two manuscripts whose present owners are not known.

One of the manuscripts is the collection of anthems by various Restoration composers, including seventeen by Purcell, which originally belonged to the Rev. William Gostling and bears his bookplate. The other is the manuscript of the violin Sonata.

Any information regarding the whereabouts of these two important manuscripts would be welcomed by the undersigned.

The Barber Institute of Fine Arts,

Department of Music,

The University,

Birmingham, 15.

19 May 1955.

ANTHONY LEWIS,

Hon. Secretary, Purcell Society.

Sir,

I am most grateful to Mr. Denis Stevens for supporting, in the April issue of *MUSIC & LETTERS*, my view that John Thorne of St. Mary-at-Hill may well be "Thorne of York". I agree with him that the identification is tempting; but there are objections.

First, why the suffix "of York"? Surely this can only be to distinguish him from another musical Thorne, for would we not otherwise find "Winslate of Winchester" or "Taverner of Boston"? Second, a question of dates: Add. MS 29, 996, containing an organ piece by "Master Thorne of York", is supposed to be in Redford's autograph; yet Redford apparently died before 1550, while Mr. Stevens's Thorne did not become organist of York until about 1560. Who was this earlier "Thorne of York", then? And is it not at least possible that Add. MS 29,996 was written about 1540, when my John Thorne was at St. Mary-at-Hill and could hardly have been described as "of York"?

I do not suggest that these objections are insurmountable; indeed I think that the single identity of all these Thornes is quite possible. But the objections are there, and until further evidence is discovered I cannot accept Mr. Stevens's assertion that "it is safe to assume that Thorne of York and John Thorne [of St. Mary-at-Hill] are one and the same person".

This is not the first time that Mr. Stevens has dabbled in *Doppelmeister* and suffered from *suffixes*. In 'The Listener' of 30 December 1954 he supports the old theory that the two Tudor musicians named William Cornyshe were one and the same man, and here I must definitely disagree with him. The Bede Roll of the Fraternity of St. Nicholas shows that William Cornyshe, senior, was dead in 1502, thus suggesting that the

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GEOFFREY BLES

"Fayrfax" manuscript dates from about this time, when music by both father and son was still in circulation. It is noticeable that the suffix "Junior" is not applied to Mr. Cornyshe *tout court*, but to William Cornyshe. Surely the scribe was thus seeking to distinguish between two Cornyshes with the same Christian name of William; if only John and William were in question then "William Cornyshe" would have been a perfectly adequate description, even for the supposedly dim intelligence of a Tudor scribe.

Moreover, Edward Pine, in his 'The Westminster Singers' (London, 1953)—a book as yet known to but a few musicians and music historians—has clearly distinguished between William Cornyshe, senior, and his son. The elder William was Master of the Choristers at Westminster between about 1480 and 1490, when he became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. The expenses of his funeral are detailed in the accounts of St. Margaret's, Westminster, for 1500-2. To clear the matter up finally, I now give the basic details of the Cornyshe family tree.

John I died in 1474 leaving a will showing that he had four children: (1) John II who was composer of a composition mentioned by Mr. Stevens, and a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in February 1504, the year in which he died; (2) William I who died in 1502; (3) Richard; and (4) Anne. William I was the father of (1) William II, who was the more famous composer, dramatist and choir-trainer, who had joined the Chapel Royal between 1504 and 1509 and died about 1524, the year in which his will was executed; and probably (2) Patrick, who joined the Fraternity of St. Nicholas in 1512.

Indisputable facts have now enabled us to tidy up the Cornyshe scene in a very satisfactory manner, even if it is not the one suggested by Mr. Stevens. It is too early to make any satisfactory integration or differentiation in the case of the Thornes. Until more facts come to light we can speculate and suggest, but not, I think, feel safe to assume. My own view is that a suffix usually indicates a *Doppelmeister*; this is certainly true of the Cornyshes, even if it probably is not in the case of the Thornes.

Corpus Christi College,
Cambridge.

5 April 1955.

HUGH BAILLIE.

Sir,

I am grateful to your reviewer, Mr. Bernard Rose, for pointing out the "wrong notes" in my edition of 'The Bird Fancyer's Delight'. May I say, however, that on p. 8, in No. 7, bar 2, the first note is in fact the D that appears in my edition. It is quite clearly a D in both the Walsh and Meares editions. I am afraid that the mistake in bar 4 of this tune is more extensive than Mr. Rose has suspected. The bar should in fact consist of four quavers: C, B, A, G.

May I take this opportunity of adding a footnote to the Preface to this edition? Since it appeared I have discovered a further copy of the Walsh edition which is now in possession of Messrs. W. E. Hill & Sons of New Bond Street. It formerly belonged to Sir John Stainer and brings the number of known copies of the Walsh edition to six.

Lewes.

16 April 1955.

STANLEY GODMAN.

Music & Letters

List of Contents in April 1955 number

Robert Johnson: King's Musician in His Majesty's Public Entertainment	John P. Cutts
Two Unpublished Mendelssohn Concertos	Eric Werner
Walton's 'Troilus and Cressida'	Dyneley Hussey
Speech-Song and the Singer	Franklyn Kelsey
An Essay by John Marsh	C. L. Cudworth
Schubert's Income	Otto Erich Deutsch

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